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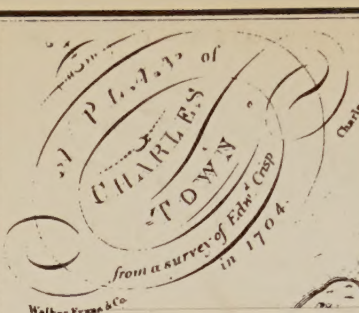

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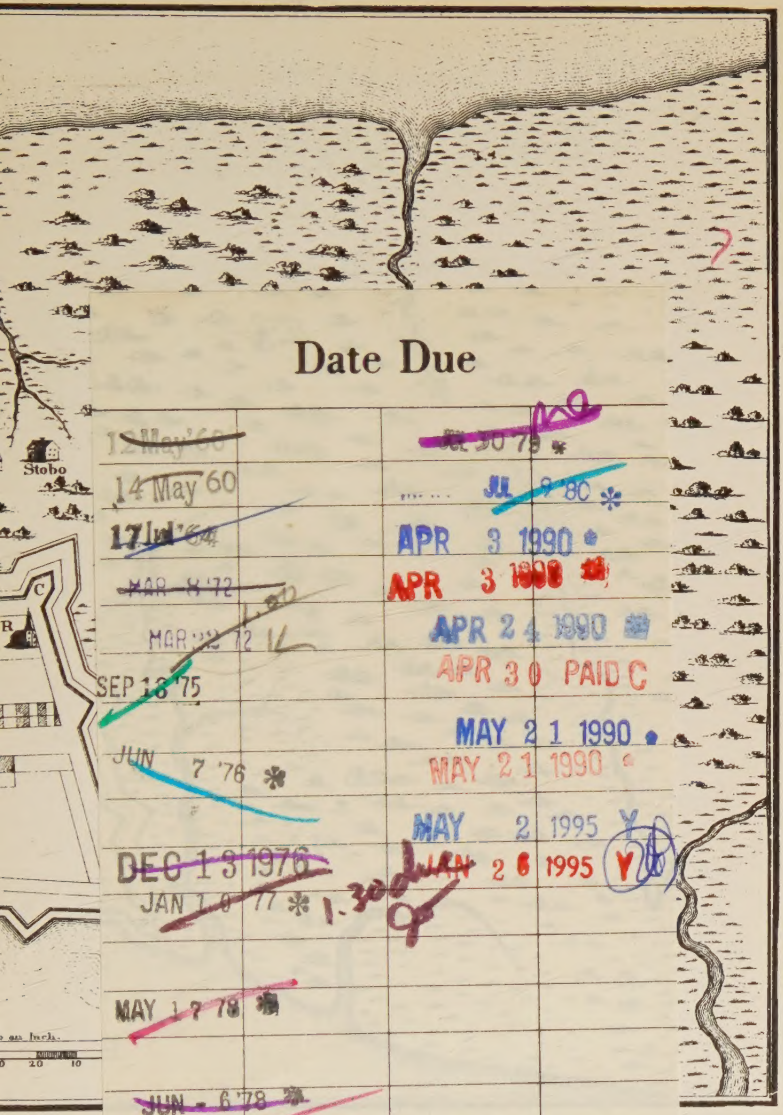

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TO

THE YOUTH OF CAROLINA,

WHOSE ANCESTORS,

COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS NATIONS OF THE OLD WORLD,

HAVE COALESCED INTO ONE IN THE NEW,

AND WHO, AFTER TWO REVOLUTIONS, IN LESS THAN ONE CENTURY,

HAVING ACQUIRED LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE,

MADE A PRUDENT USE OF THESE INESTIMABLE BLESSINGS,

BY ESTABLISHING, ON THE BASIS OF REASON AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN,

A SOLID, EFFICIENT, AND WELL BALANCED GOVERNMENT,

WHOSE OBJECT IS PUBLIC GOOD,

WHOSE END IS PUBLIC HAPPINESS,

BY WHICH INDUSTRY HAS BEEN ENCOURAGED, AGRICULTURE EXTENDED,

LITERATURE CHERISHED, RELIGION PROTECTED, AND

JUSTICE CHEAPLY AND CONVENIENTLY ADMINISTERED

TO A RAPIDLY INCREASING POPULATION.

IN HOPES THAT THE DESCENDANTS OF SUCH SIRES WILL LEARN,

FROM THEIR EXAMPLE

TO LOVE THEIR COUNTRY AND CHERISH ITS INTERESTS,

THE FOLLOWING HISTORY IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

RAMSAY'S

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HISTORY

OF

SOUTH CAROLINA,

FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT IN 1670
TO THE YEAR 1808.

By DAVID RAMSAY, M. D.

"The Muse of History has been so much in love with Mars, that she has seldom conversed with Minerva."—*Henry.*

VOLUME I.

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PREFACE.

The growing importance of the United States excites an increasing curiosity to be acquainted with their early history. Of their wars and of their late revolution much has been written, but a development of the causes which, in less than two centuries, have raised them from poverty to riches—from ignorance to knowledge—from weakness to power—from a handful of people to a mighty multitude—from rude woodsmen to polished citizens—from colonies guided by the leading strings of a distant island to a well regulated, self-governed community, has not been sufficiently the subject of attention. It is a work of too much magnitude to be incorporated in a general history of the whole, and cannot be done to purpose otherwise than by local histories of particular provinces or states. Much useful knowledge on these subjects is already lost, and more is fast hastening to oblivion. A considerable portion of it can now only be recovered by a recurrence to tradition—for records of many events worthy of being transmitted to posterity have either never been made, or if made have been destroyed. Every day that minute local histories of these states are deferred is an injury to posterity—for by means thereof more of that knowledge which ought to be transmitted to them will be irrecoverably lost. These views were so forcibly impressed on the author of the following work, that he began many years ago to collect materials for writing a detailed history of the State in which Providence had cast his lot. In vain did he expect complete information from public records. On many interesting subjects they were silent—the most early were illegible—others were lost in the hurricanes or fires which at several successive periods have desolated Charleston. Much of what escaped from these calamities was destroyed in the invasions of the State by the British in 1779 and 1780. Of what remained every practicable use was made; but to remedy their defects, application was made to the only repositories of facts on which reliance could be placed. This was the recollection of old citizens and especially of such as were the descendants of the first settlers. To them, in the year 1798, he addressed a circular letter and queries on a variety of subjects connected with the history of Carolina.* These were sent to

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*SIR--Having made some progress in collecting materials for a general HISTORY of SOUTH-CAROLINA from its first settlement, I beg the favor of you to furnish me, in Charleston, with information on any subjects that may properly be incorporated in such a work; and in particular, with answers to all or any of the following inquiries, at least as far as they respect the vicinity of your residence. If you should not have leisure for this purpose, I request that you would put them in the hands of some suitable person who may be willing to collect and transmit the wished-for information.

I am, your most obedient, humble servant,

Charleston, November 19, 1798. DAVID RAMSAY.

The time when the settlement of your parish or county began? the date of the oldest grants of land; and the place from which the first settlers migrated, with some account of the most remarkable of them?

The Indian name of your parish or county: what tribes of Indians formerly occupied it? notice of their monuments and relics which may remain? if they have disappeared, when and by what means? if still in your settlement, or the vicinity, what is their present state, condition and number?

Biographical anecdotes of persons in your settlement, who have been distinguished for their ingenuity, enterprise, literature, talents civil or military?

Topographical descriptions of your parish or county, or its vicinity--its mountains, rivers, ponds, animals, useful and rare vegetable productions; stones, especially such as may be useful for mills, lime, architecture, pavements, or for other purposes; remarkable falls, caverns, minerals, sands, clays, chalk, flint, marble, pitcoal, pigments, medicinal or poisonous substances, their uses and antidotes?

The former and present state of cultivation; what changes has it undergone; an account of the first introduction of rice, indigo, &c. Your ideas of further improvements, either as to the introduction of new staples or the improvement of the old, or with respect to roads, bridges, canals, opening the navigation of the rivers or boatable waters?

An estimate of the expenses and profits of a well-cultivated field, of any given dimensions, say 20 acres, in tobacco, cotton, rice, wheat, or corn, with the average price of land?

The distinction of soils, with a notice of the productions to which they are respectively best adapted; a notice of the different kinds of useful timber; the proportion between cleared and uncleared land; and of the proportions between the number of inhabitants and number of acres?

What are the natural advantages in your vicinity for the erection of mills, and for other labor-saving machinery; for catching and curing fish, and for raising stock?

Singular instances of longevity and fecundity? observations on the weather, epidemic and other diseases, and the influence of the climate or of particular situations, employments or aliments; and especially the effects of spirituous liquors on the human constitution?

Is your population, distinguishing white from black, increasing, decreasing, or stationary; and the causes and evidences thereof?

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well informed persons in every part of the State, and afterwards printed in the newspapers. In consequence thereof, much useful information has been received.

All the early histories which treat of Carolina were attentively perused, but from them little of consequence could be obtained. Dr. Hewat's historical account of the rise and progress of the colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, was read with much more advantage—on it greater reliance was placed—and of it more use has been made, than of all the histories which had preceded. To him every Carolinian ought to be obliged for preserving many useful facts which otherwise would before this day have been forgotten. His valuable work was written shortly before the American Revolution, when tradition went further back and was more recent than at present. Much of the information contained therein is said to have been derived from Lieutenant-Governor William Bull, who had been a public officer since 1740, and who was the son of Lieutenant-Governor Bull, and the grandson of Stephen Bull, who had held public offices in succession from the very first settlement of the colony. For the thirty-four eventful years of revolutionary war and civil improvements which have intervened since Dr. Hewat wrote and the year 1808, the author has been a cotemporary witness of all, and an actor in several of the scenes which are the ground-work of the history of South Carolina in that interesting period.

Chalmers' political annals of the united colonies also afforded many statements of which use has been made. His knowledge was derived from an authentic source, the plantation office. In dates and early matters of fact, where he differed from other writers, his authority has been considered as paramount; but in matters of opinion, his assertions have been received with large allowance for the principles and feelings of a man who, in consequence of his adherence to the King of Great Britain, was not permitted to continue an inhabitant of the United States during their revolutionary struggle for independence.

Governor Drayton's view of South Carolina affords more interesting detailed views of the interior economy of the State than had ever been given. His official station and duties as governor opened to him sources of information inaccessible to all preceding writers. Much original matter previously unnoticed is contained in his valuable work, and of it use has been made in the following pages.

After the proposals had been issued for publishing the History of South Carolina, and the greater part of it had been written, a flood of local intelligence, in answer to the preceding queries, poured in on the author. Much of this came too late to be incorporated in its proper place; it was too valuable to be suppressed, and was therefore introduced in the appendix in the form of statistical accounts. To his many correspondents, the author returns the warmest acknowledgments for their valuable communications, which will be noticed in their proper place. To the Reverend Donald M'Leod he is under very particular obligations for his minute, accurate, and satisfactory account of Edisto Island, and he begs leave to recommend it to others as a model worthy of imitation. If one or more persons in the different districts or other portions of the State, will take the trouble of furnishing statements on the plan of Mr. M'Leod, the author pledges himself, if his life is spared, to connect the whole in one view, and give it to the public as a statistical account of South Carolina. If this proposal should be carried into effect a collection of facts useful to philosophers, legislators, physicians and divines, would be brought to light. The interior economy of the State, which is now the least known of any one in the Union, would become the most known. South Carolina would rise in the esteem of the citizens of other States, many of whom, from not knowing better, load it with reproaches it does not deserve, and deny it much of that credit to which it is justly entitled.

DAVID RAMSAY.

Charleston, December 31st, 1808.

What manufactures are carried on? how have they been affected by the independence of these States, and by the establishment of the federal constitution: and your thoughts on the further improvements of them? what public libraries have you? what encouragement is given to schools and colleges? and what has been done, or is doing, to advance literature or diffuse knowledge?

What churches are there in your parish or county: how long have they been erected: how are they supplied with preachers? how are they attended on days of public worship? what has been done, or is doing, to promote morality and religion among the people?

The date, extent, consequences, and other circumstances of freshets, whirlwinds, hurricanes, or other remarkable events, which have taken place, as far back as can be recollected, in your county or parish?

CIVIL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHAPTER I.

Population.

Columbus, by the discovery of America, introduced the Old World to an acquaintance with the new. No sooner was the existence of a Western Continent known to the maritime powers of Europe, than they eagerly rushed forth to seize a portion of it for themselves. Though that part of the American coast which stretches from the 36th degree of north latitude to St. Augustine, was claimed by Spain, England and France, yet they all for a long time neglected it. Nearly two centuries passed away subsequent to its discovery, before any permanent settlement was established in the tract of country which is now called Carolina and Georgia. That germ of civilized population which took root, flourished, and spread in South Carolina, was first planted at or near Port Royal, in 1670, by a few emigrants from England, under the direction of William Sayle, the first Governor of the province. Dissatisfied with that situation, they removed, in 1671, to the Western banks of Ashley river, and there laid the foundation of old Charlestown, on a plantation now belonging to Elias Lynch Horry. This site was injudiciously chosen, for it could not be approached by vessels of large burden, and was therefore abandoned. A second removal took place to Oyster Point, formed by the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper. There, in the year 1680,* the foundation of the present city of Charleston was laid, and in one year, thirty houses were built. Neither the number of these first settlers, nor their names, with the exception of William Sayle and Joseph West, have reached posterity. They could not, however, have been many; for all of them, together with provisions, arms, and utensils, requisite for their support, defence, and comfort, in a country inhabited only by savages, were brought from England to Carolina in two vessels. To increase the population, was a primary object. There is no evidence of

* A monument in the Circular Church, erected to the memory of Robert Tradd, states, "that he was the first male child born in Charlestown," and "that he died on the 30th of March, 1731, in the 52d year of his age." Though the precise time of his birth is not mentioned, the whole accords with other historic evidence, that Charlestown began to be built in 1680.

any plan to procure settlers of any uniform description, either as to politics or religion, farther than that a decided preference was given to protestants. The emigrants were a medley of different nations and principles. From England the colony received both Roundheads and Cavaliers, the friends of the parliament, and the adherents to the royal family. The servants of the crown, from motives of policy, encouraged the emigration of the former; and grants of land were freely bestowed on the latter, as a reward of their loyalty. Liberty of conscience, which was allowed to every one by the charter, proved a great encouragement to emigration. The settlement commenced at a period when conformity to the Church of England was urged with so high a hand, as to bear hard on many good men. In the reign of Charles the Second and James the Second, and till the revolution, which was eighteen years subsequent to the settlement of the province, dissenters labored under many grievances. They felt much and feared more; for, in common with many others, they entertained serious apprehensions of a popish successor to the crown of England. Men of this description, from a laudable jealousy of the rights of conscience, rejoiced in the prospect of securing religious liberty, though at the expense of exchanging the endearments of home, and cultivated society for the wilds of America. Such cheerfully embraced the offers of the proprietors; and from them Carolina received a considerable number of its earliest settlers.

The inducements to emigration were so many and so various, that every year brought new adventurers to the province. The friends of the proprietors were allured to it by the prospect of obtaining landed states at an easy rate. Others took refuge in it from the frowns of fortune, and the rigor of creditors. Young men reduced to misery by folly and excess, embarked for the new settlement, where they had leisure to reform, and where necessity taught them the unknown virtues of prudence and temperance. Restless spirits, fond of roving, were gratified by emigration, and found in a new country abundant scope for enterprise and adventure.

Besides individual emigrants, the colony frequently received groupes of settlers, from their attachment to particular leaders, some common calamity, or general impulse. The first of these was a small colony from Barbadoes, which arrived in 1671, under the auspices of Sir John Yeamans, who had obtained a large grant of land from the proprietors. With these were introduced the first, and for a considerable time, the only slaves that were in Carolina.

Shortly after, the colony received a valuable addition to its strength from the Dutch settlement of Nova-Belgia. This in

1674 was conquered by England, and thereupon acquired the name of New York. After their subjugation, many of the Dutch colonists, dissatisfied with their new masters, determined to emigrate. The proprietors of Carolina offered them lands, and sent two ships for their accommodation, which conveyed a considerable number of them to Charlestown. Stephen Bull, Surveyor General of the colony, had instructions to mark out lands on the southwest side of Ashley river, for their accommodation. They drew lots for their property, and formed a town which was called Jamestown. This was the first colony of Dutch settlers in Carolina. Their industry surmounted incredible hardships, and their success induced many from ancient Belgia afterwards to follow them to the western world. The inhabitants of Jamestown, finding their situation too narrow, spread themselves over the country, and the town was deserted.

In 1679, King Charles II. ordered two small vessels to be provided at his expense, to transport to Carolina several foreign protestants, who proposed to raise wine, oil, silk and other productions of the south. Though they did not succeed in enriching the country with these valuable commodities, their descendants form a part of the present inhabitants.

The revocation of the edict of Nantz, fifteen years subsequent to the settlement of Carolina, contributed much to its population. In it, soon after that event, were transplanted from France the stocks from which have sprung the respectable families of Bonneau, Bounetheau, Bordeaux, Benoist, Boiseau, Bocquet, Bacot, Chevalier, Cordes, Courterier, Chastaignier, Dupre, Delysle, Dubose, Dubois, Deveaux, Dutarque, De la Consiliere, De Leiseline, Doux saint, Dupont, Du Bourdieu, D'Harriette, Faucheraud, Foissin, Faysoux, Gaillard, Gendron, Gignilliat, Guerard, Godin, Girardeaux, Guerin, Gourdine, Horry, Huger, Jeannerette, Legare, Laurens, La Roche, Lenud, Lansac, Marion, Mazyck, Manigault,* Melli-

* A letter written in French by Judith Manigault, the wife of Peter Manigault, who were the founders of the worthy family of that name, may give some faint idea of the sufferings of these French protestant refugees. This lady, when about twenty years old, embarked in 1685 for Carolina, by the way of London. After her arrival, she wrote to her brother a letter, giving an account of her adventures. This letter translated into English, is as follows :—"Since you desire it, I will give you an account of our quitting France, and of our arrival in Carolina. During eight months, we had suffered from the contributions and the quartering of the soldiers, with many other inconveniences. We therefore resolved on quitting France by night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning the house with its furniture. We contrived to hide ourselves at Romans, in Dauphigny, for ten days, while a search was made after us; but our hostess being faithful, did not betray us when questioned if she had seen us. From thence we passed to Lyons —from thence to Dijon—from which place, as well as from Langres, my eldest brother wrote to you; but I know not if either of the letters reached you. He informed you that we were quitting France. He went to Madame de Choiseul's, which was of no avail as she was dead, and her son-in-law had the command of

champ, Mouzon, Michau, Neufville, Prioleau,* Peronneau, Perdriau, Porcher, Postell, Peyre, Poyas, Ravenel, Royer, Simons, Sarazin, St. Julien, Serre, Trezevant.

These, and several other French protestants, in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, repaired to Carolina, and became useful inhabitants. Many of their descendants have been, and are, respectable and distinguished citizens.† They generally at first established themselves on Santee

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every thing: moreover, he gave us to understand that he perceived our intention of quitting France, and if we asked any favors from him, he would inform against us. We therefore made the best of our way for Metz, in Lorraine, where we embarked on the river Moselle, in order to go to Treves—from thence we passed to Cochieim, and to Coblentz—from thence to Cologne, where we quitted the Rhine, to go by land to Wesel—where we met with an host, who spoke a little French, and who informed us we were only thirty leagues from Lunenburg. We knew that you were in winter quarters there, by a letter of yours, received fifteen days before our departure from France, which mentioned that you should winter there. Our deceased mother and myself earnestly besought my eldest brother to go that way with us; or, leaving us with her, to pay you a visit alone. It was in the depth of winter: but he would not hear of it, having Carolina so much in his head that he dreaded losing any opportunity of going thither. Oh, what grief the losing so fine an opportunity of seeing you at least once more, has caused me! How have I regretted seeing a brother show so little feeling, and how often have I reproached him with it! but he was our master, and we were constrained to do as he pleased. We passed on to Holland, to go from thence to England. I do not recollect exactly the year, whether '84 or '85, but it was that in which King Charles of England died, (Feb. 1685.) We remained in London three months, waiting for a passage to Carolina. Having embarked, we were sadly off: the spotted fever made its appearance on board our vessel, of which disease many died, and among them our aged mother. Nine months elapsed before our arrival in Carolina. We touched at two ports—one a Portuguese, and the other an island called Bermuda, belonging to the English, to refit our vessel, which had been much injured in a storm. Our Captain having committed some misdemeanor, was put in prison, and the vessel seized. Our money was all spent, and it was with great difficulty we procured a passage in another vessel. After our arrival in Carolina, we suffered every kind of evil. In about eighteen months our elder brother, unaccustomed to the hard labor we had to undergo, died of a fever. Since leaving France we had experienced every kind of affliction—disease—pestilence—famine—poverty—hard labor. I have been for six months together without tasting bread, working the ground like a slave; and I have even passed three or four years without always having it when I wanted it. God has done great things for us, enabling us to bear up under so many trials. I should never have done, were I to attempt to detail to you all our adventures. Let it suffice that God has had compassion on me, and changed my fate to a more happy one, for which glory be unto him." The writer of the above letter died in 1711, seven years after she had given birth to Gabriel Manigault, who in a long and useful life accumulated a fortune so large, as enabled him to aid the asylum of his persecuted parents with a loan of $220,000, for carrying on its revolutionary struggle for liberty and independence. This was done at an early period of the contest, when no man was certain whether it would terminate in a revolution or a rebellion.

* The Rev. Elias Prioleau, the founder of the eminently respectable family of that name in Carolina, migrated thither soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, and brought with him from France a considerable part of his protestant congregation. He was the grandson of Anthoine Prioli, who was elected Doge of Venice in the year 1618. Many of his numerous descendants, who were born and constantly resided in or near Charleston, have approached or exceeded their 70th year; and several have survived, or now survive their 80th.

† Three of the nine Presidents of the old Congress which conducted the United States through the revolutionary war, were descendants of French protestant refugees, who had migrated to America in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz. The persons alluded to were Henry Laurens, of South Carolina; John Jay, of New York; and Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey.

river; and from them that part of the country in old maps was called French Santee.

Besides these French refugees who came directly from France, there was a considerable number which, after a short residence in the northern countries of Europe and of America, particularly New York, repaired to Carolina, as a climate more similar to the one from which they had been driven, than the bleaker regions to which they had first resorted. Thus Carolina became a general rendezvous of French protestants, as had been originally contemplated by one of their distinguished leaders, shortly after the discovery of America.*

In the year 1696, Carolina received a small accession of inhabitants, by the arrival of a congregational church from Dorchester in Massachusetts, who, with their minister, the Rev. Joseph Lord, settled in a body near the head of Ashley river, about twenty-two miles from Charlestown.

In the year 1712 the Assembly passed a law directing the public receiver to pay out of the treasury, fourteen pounds current money to the owners or importers of each healthy male British servant, not a criminal, betwixt the age of twelve and thirty years.

No considerable groups of settlers are known to have emigrated to South Carolina, between 1696 and 1730, but the province continued to advance in population from the arrival of many individuals. It in particular received a considerable accession of inhabitants from Georgia, at the first settlement of that Colony. The Colonists there were prohibited the use

*As early as the year 1562 Admiral Coligny, a zealous Huguenot, formed a project for founding an asylum for French protestants in America. He succeeded so far as to affect a settlement under the direction of John Ribault somewhere on the coast of Carolina, most probably on or near the island of St. Helena. These French settlers not being well supported, became discontented; and afterwards the whole of them put to sea, with a scanty stock of provisions. Pinched with hunger they killed one of their number, who consented to be made a victim to save his comrades. The survivors were taken up by an English ship, and carried into England. Two years after, or in 1564, M. Rene Laudonniere, with a considerable reinforcement, arrived at the river of May on the same coast after it had been abandoned. This second groupe of French protestants was killed by Pedro Melendez a Spanish officer, who had received orders from his King to drive the Huguenots out of the country, and to settle it with good Catholics. In execution of this order he hung several of the French settlers, and suspended over them a label signifying, "I do not do this as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." The Spanish conquerers took the stand of the vanquished French and fortified it. But their cruelty was retaliated by Dominique De Gourges, who soon after sailed from France with a considerable force. On his arrival he successfully attacked the Spanish settlement, and after killing many in action, he hung the survivors on the same trees in which his countrymen had been previously hung, and with a searing iron, impressed on a tablet of wood this inscription. "I do not do this as to Spaniards, but as to robbers and murderers." The victors, after razing the forts and destroying the settlement, returned to France. The country, thus abandoned by both French and Spaniards, remained in the undisturbed possession of the Indians for more than a hundred years. Soon after the end of that period, it was taken possession of by the English, and under their auspices became an asylum for French protestants, as it had been originally intended by Admiral Coligny.

of spirituous liquors, and were not suffered to own slaves. Several of them soon found that Carolina would suit them better. In a few years after the royal purchase of the province in 1729, vigorous measures, which shall be hereafter related, were adopted by government for filling the country with inhabitants. Contracts were made—bounties offered—free lands assigned—and other inducements held out to allure settlers. The door was thrown open to protestants of all nations. Besides the distressed subjects of the British dominions, multitudes of the poor and unfortunate closed with these offers; and emigrated from Switzerland, Holland and Germany. Between the years 1730 and 1750, a great addition was made to the strength of the province from these sources; Orangeburg, Congaree, and Wateree, received a large proportion of the German emigrants. Numbers of palatines arrived every year. The vessels which brought them over usually returned with a load of rice, and made profitable voyages. After some time the King of Prussia suddenly put a stop to this intercourse, by refusing to the emigrating palatines a passage through his dominions. Williamsburg township was the rendezvous of the Irish. The Swiss took their stand on the northeast banks of the river Savannah. Soon after the suppression of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, in Scotland, many of the vanquished Highlanders were transported to, or voluntarily sought an asylum in South Carolina.

In the course of eighty-years, or about the middle of the 18th century, the most valuable lands in the low country were taken up; and settlements were gradually progressing Westwardly on favorite spots in the middle and upper country. The extinction of Indian claims by a cession of territory to the King, was necessary to the safety of the advancing settlers. This was obtained in 1755. In that year Governor Glen met the Cherokee warriors in their own country, and held a treaty with them. After the usual ceremonies were ended, the Governor made a speech to the assembled warriors in the name of his King; representing his great power, wealth, and goodness, and his particular regard for his children the Cherokees. He reminded them of the happiness they had long enjoyed by living under his protection; and added, that he had many presents to make them, and expected they would surrender a share of their territories in return. He informed them of the wicked designs of the French, and hoped they would permit none of them to enter their towns. He demanded lands to build two forts in their country, to protect them against their enemies, and to be a retreat to their friends and allies, who furnished them with arms, ammunition, hatchets, clothes, and everything that they wanted.

When the Governor had finished his speech, Chulochcullak arose, and in answer spoke to the following effect: "What I now speak, our father the great King should hear. We are brothers to the people of Carolina; one house covers us all." Then taking a boy by the hand, he presented him to the Governor saying, "We, our wives, and our children, are all children of the great King George; I have brought this child, that when he grows up he may remember our agreement on this day, and tell it to the next generation, that it may be known forever." Then opening his bag of earth, and laying the same at the Governor's feet, he said: "We freely surrender a part of our lands to the great King. The French want our possessions, but we will defend them while one of our nation shall remain alive." Then delivering the Governor a string of wampum, in confirmation of what he said, he added; "My speech is at an end—it is the voice of the Cherokee nation. I hope the Governor will send it to the King, that it may be kept for ever."

At this congress, a prodigious extent of territory was ceded to the King of England. Deeds of conveyance were drawn up, and formally executed, by the head men of the Cherokees in the name of the whole nation. It contained not only much rich land, but an air and climate more healthy than in the maritime parts. It exhibited many pleasant and romantic scenes, formed by an intermixture of beautiful hills—fruitful valleys—rugged rocks—clear streams, and pleasant waterfalls. The acquisition, at that time, was of importance to Carolina; for it removed the savages at a greater distance from the settlements, and allowed the inhabitants liberty to extend backwards in proportion as their numbers increased.

After the cession of these lands, governor Glen built a fort about three hundred miles from Charlestown. This was afterwards called fort Prince George, and was situated on the banks of the river Savannah, and within gun shot of an Indian town called Keowee. About an hundred and seventy miles farther down, a second stronghold, called fort Moore, was constructed in a beautiful commanding situation, on the banks of the same river. In the year following a third fort was erected, called fort Loudon, among the upper Cherokees, situated on Tennessee river, upwards of five hundred miles from Charlestown.

At the time Governor Glen was procuring additional territory for South Carolina, the events of war were furnishing inhabitants for its cultivation. The province of Nova Scotia was originally settled by the French, under the name of Acadie. When the province was surrendered to the English, by the treaty of Utrecht, it was stipulated for the inhabitants

that they should be permitted to hold their lands on condition of taking the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign. With this condition they refused to comply, without annexing to it as a qualification that they should not be called upon to bear arms in defence of the province.

Though this qualification to their oaths of allegiance, which was acceded to by the commanding officer of the British forces, was afterwards disallowed by the crown, yet the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia continued to consider themselves as neutrals. Their love of France, however, would not permit them to conform their conduct to the character they had assumed. In all the contests between the two nations, respecting the possession of their country, or the boundaries of Nova Scotia, their conduct was influenced rather by their wishes than their duty, and about three hundred of them were captured in the year 1755, with the French garrison of Beau Sejour, fighting against the English.

In the obstinate conflict which was then commencing between France and England for American territory, the continuance of these acadian neutrals in Nova Scotia was thought dangerous. To expel them from the country, leaving them at liberty to choose their place of residence, would be to reinforce the French in Canada. A council was held for the purpose of deciding on the destinies of these unfortunate people; and the severe policy was adopted of removing them from their homes, and dispersing them among the other British colonies. This harsh measure was immediately put into execution. About 1500 of them were sent to Charlestown. Some of these exiles have risen to wealth and distinction in Carolina, though it was not originally their country either by birth or choice; but most of them in a short time after peace, left the country. They were, in general, a hard working people. Among them were several industrious fishermen, who plentifully supplied the market with fish.

Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, between Governor Glen and the Indians, the settlers began to stretch backward, and occupied land above an hundred and fifty miles from the shores of the Atlantic. New emigrants from Ireland, Germany, and the northern colonies, obtained grants in these interior parts; and introduced the cultivation of wheat, hemp, flax, and tobacco, for which the soil answered better than in the low lands near the sea. Their cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses, multiplied rapidly; having a country of vast extent to range over, they found plenty of provisions in almost every season. New settlers were invited to these hilly and more healthy parts, where they labored with greater safety than among the swamps. By degrees, public roads were made,

and they conveyed their produce in wagons to the capital, where they found an excellent market for all their productions.

The lands thus obtained by treaty form the present districts of Edgefield, Abbeville, Laurens, Newberry, Union, Spartanburg, York, Chester, Fairfield and Richland. Their value, in a few years after their cession, was enhanced by the peace of Paris, in 1763; for the stipulations therein contained gave security to the frontiers, and settled all disputes about the boundaries of the English colonies. By the cession of Florida it removed troublesome neighbors, and left the savages so much in the power of the English as to deter them from future hostilities. The population of the newly acquired territory, form that period, increased with unusual rapidity. The assembly, desirous of strengthening their frontier, wisely appropriated a large fund for bounties to foreign protestants, and such industrious poor people of Britain and Ireland, as should resort to the province within three years and settle on the inland parts. Two townships, each containing 48,000 acres, were laid out to be divided among emigrants, allowing one hundred acres for every man, and fifty for every woman and child, that should come and settle in them. The face of the country in those interior parts, is variable and beautiful. The air mild and wholesome, and the soil exceedingly fertile. The salubrity of the climate, connected with the provincial bounty, and the fertility of the soil, induced great numbers to fix themselves in these western regions.

About the same time, a remarkable affair happened in Germany, by which South Carolina received a considerable acquisition. One Stumpel, who had been an officer in the King of Prussia's service, being reduced at the peace, applied to the British Ministry for a tract of land in America; and having got some encouragement, returned to Germany, where, by deceitful promises, he seduced between five and six hundred ignorant people from their native country. When these poor palatines arrived in England, Stumpel, finding himself unable to perform his promises, fled, leaving them without money or friends, exposed in the open field, and ready to perish through want. While they were in this starving condition, a humane clergyman took compassion on them, and published their deplorable case in a newspaper. He pleaded for the mercy and protection of government, until an opportunity might offer of transporting them to some of the British colonies. A bounty of three hundred pounds was allowed them. Tents were ordered for the accommodation of such as had been permitted to come ashore, and money was sent for the relief of those that were confined on board. The public spirited citizens of London chose a committee to raise money

for the relief of these poor palatines. In a few days these unfortunate strangers, from the depth of indigence and distress, were raised to comfortable circumstances. The committee, finding the money received more than sufficient to relieve their present distress, applied to the king to know his royal pleasure with respect to the future disposal of the German protestants. His majesty, sensible that his colony of South Carolina had not its proportion of white inhabitants, signified his desire of transporting them to that province.

Accordingly two ships of two hundred tons each were provided for their accommodation, and provisions of all kinds laid in for the voyage. An hundred and fifty stand of arms were given to them for their defence after their arrival in America. Every thing being ready for their embarkation, the palatines broke up their camp and proceeded to the ships, attended by several of their benefactors, of whom they took their leave with songs of praise to God in their mouths and tears of gratitude in their eyes.

In the month of April, 1764, they arrived at Charlestown, and presented a letter from the lords commissioners for trade and plantations to Governor Boone; acquainting him that his majesty had been pleased to take the poor palatines under his royal care and protection; and, as many of them were versed in the culture of silk and vines, had ordered that a settlement be provided for them in Carolina, in a situation most proper for these purposes. The assembly voted five hundred pounds sterling to be distributed among them. That they might be settled in a body, one of the two townships was allotted for them and divided in the most equitable manner into small tracts, for the accommodation of each family, and all possible assistance was given towards promoting their speedy and comfortable settlement.

In the same year Carolina received 212 settlers from France. Soon after the peace of Paris, the Rev. Mr. Gibert, a popular preacher, prevailed on a number of persecuted protestant families to seek an asylum in South Carolina. On his solicitation, the government of England encouraged the project, and furnished the means of transportation. Mr. Gibert repaired to England, and directed the movements of the refugees. They found it necessary to leave France privately, at different times, and in small numbers. After leaving their native country, they rendezvoused at Plymouth, and sailing from that port arrived in Charlestown in April, 1764. They were received by the Carolinians with great kindness and hospitality. They, generally, retired to spend the approaching summer in Beaufort. But in the month of October following they returned to Charlestown, and set out for the

back country, having lost but one of their number since their landing. The province furnished them with the means of conveyance to Long Cane. Vacant lands were laid out for their use; and they received warrants for the quantities of land granted to them respectively, by the bounty of the Provincial Assembly. On their arrival at the place assigned them, they gave it the name of New Bourdeaux, after the capital of the province from which most of them had emigrated. They have been distinguished for their industry and good morals. The climate has agreed so well with them, that they have generally enjoyed good health, and several of them have survived their 80th year. The manufacture of silk is still continued among them. The nephew of the original projector of the settlement is one of the present representatives of Abbeville district, in the State Legislature. This was the third groupe of settlers Carolina received from France.

Besides foreign protestants, several persons from England and Scotland resorted to Carolina after the peace of 1763. But of all other countries, none has furnished the province with so many inhabitants as Ireland. Scarce a ship sailed from any of its ports for Charlestown that was not crowded with men, women, and children. The bounty allowed to new settlers, induced numbers of these people to resort to Carolina. The merchants finding this bounty equivalent to the expenses of the passage, persuaded the people to embark. Many causes may be assigned for this spirit of emigration from Ireland, but domestic oppression was the most powerful and prevalent.

Nor were these the only sources from which an increase of population was at this time derived. Notwithstanding the vast extent of territory contained in the provinces of Virginia and Pennsylvania, a scarcity of improvable lands began to be felt in these colonies, and poor people could not find vacant spots in them equal to their expectations. In Carolina the case was different; for there large tracts of the best lands lay waste. This induced many of the northern colonists to migrate to the South. About this time above a thousand families with their effects, in the space of one year resorted to South Carolina, driving their cattle, hogs, and horses over land before them. Lands were allotted them in its western woods, which soon became the most populous parts of the province. The frontiers were not only strengthened and secured by new settlers, but the old ones began to stretch backward, and the demand for lands in the interior parts every year increased. From the time in which America was secured by the peace of 1763, and particularly

for the twelve subsequent years, the province made rapid progress in agriculture, numbers and wealth.

In the revolutionary war which commenced in 1775, little addition was made either to the population or settlements in South Carolina. But this was amply compensated by the multitudes from Europe and the more northern parts of America, which poured into the State, shortly after the peace of 1783. The two new western districts now called Pendleton and Greenville, which were obtained by treaty founded on conquest from the Cherokee Indians in 1777, filled so rapidly with inhabitants, that in the year 1800 they alone contained upwards of 30,000 inhabitants; which exceeded the population of the whole province in the 64th year from its first settlement.

Hitherto Carolina had been an asylum to those who fled from tyranny and persecution—to the exile—the weary and heavy laden—the wretched and unfortunate—and to those who were bowed down with poverty and oppression. A new variety of human misery was lately presented for the exercise of its hospitality. The insecurity of life, liberty, and property, in revolutionary France, and the indiscriminate massacre of Frenchmen in St. Domingo, drove several hundreds in the last years of the 18th century to the shores of Carolina. They were kindly received; and, such as were in need, received a temporary accommodation at the expense of the public. Most of them fixed their residence in or near Charleston.

These were the last groupe of settlers the State received from foreign countries. The new States and Territories to the southward and westward, draw to them so many of the inhabitants of South Carolina, that emigration from it at present nearly balances migration to it. Its future population must in a great measure depend on the natural increase of its own inhabitants. So much of the soil is unimproved, or so imperfectly cultivated, that the introduction and extension of a proper system of husbandry will afford support to ten times the number of its present inhabitants.

So many and so various have been the sources from which Carolina has derived her population, that a considerable period must elapse, before the people amalgamate into a mass possessing an uniform national character. This event daily draws nearer; for each successive generation drops a part of the peculiarities of its immediate predecessors. The influence of climate and government will have a similar effect. The different languages, and dialects, introduced by the settlers from different countries, are gradually giving place to the English. So much similarity prevails among the de-

scendants of the early emigrants from the Old World, that strangers cannot ascertain the original country of the ancestors of the present race.

If comparisons among the different nations which have contributed to the population of Carolina were proper, it might be added that the Scotch and Dutch were the most useful emigrants. They both brought with them, and generally retained in an eminent degree, the virtues of industry and economy so peculiarly necessary in a new country. To the former, South Carolina is indebted for much of its early literature. A great proportion of its physicians, clergymen, lawyers, and schoolmasters, were from North Britain. The Scotch had also the address frequently to advance themselves by marriage. The instances of their increasing the property thus acquired, are many—of their dissipating it, very few.

Emigrants from all countries on application readily obtained grants of land; either by private agreement from the proprietors, or from officers appointed by them, and acting under their instructions. The fees of office were not unreasonable. The price first fixed by the proprietors, was at the rate of £20 sterling for a thousand acres, and an annual quit-rent of one shilling for every hundred acres. When a warrant for taking up land was obtained, the person in whose favor it was granted had to choose where it should be located. It was then surveyed and marked. Plats and grants were also signed, recorded and delivered to the purchasers. This was the common mode of obtaining landed estates in Carolina, and the tenure was a freehold. They who could not advance the purchase money, obtained their lands on condition of their paying one penny annual rent for every acre. The first settlers, having the first choice of lands, had great advantages; and many of their descendants now enjoy large and valuable estates, purchased by their ancestors for inconsiderable sums. This mode of settlement by indiscriminate location, dispersed the inhabitants over the country without union or system. The settlers generally preferred the sea coast—the margins of rivers—and other fertile grounds; and gradually located themselves westwardly on the good land, leaving the bad untouched. For the first eighty years, they had advanced very little beyond an equal number of miles; but in the following fifty, they stretched to the Alleghany Mountains nearly three hundred miles from the ocean. While the people of New England extended their settlements exclusively by townships, presenting a compact front to the Indians, and co-extending the means of instruction in religion and learning with their population, South Carolina, in com-

mon with the other Southern provinces proceeding on the former plan, deprived her inhabitants of the many advantages connected with compact settlements. These evils are now done away; for, since the revolution, nearly all the vacant land in the State has been taken up. They who have been obliged to content themselves with the long neglected poor lands, have the consolation that what they lost one way is made up in another; for it is found, that the high and dry pine land is by far the most healthy.

CIVIL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHAPTER II.

Proprietary Government, from its Commencement in 1670, *till its Abolition in* 1719.

In the course of the 130 years in which South Carolina increased from a handful of adventurers to 345,591 inhabitants, the government was changed, first from proprietary to regal; and secondly, from regal to representative. The first continued forty-nine years, the second fifty-seven; and the third, after a lapse of thirty-two years, is now in the bloom and vigor of youth, promising a long duration.

Near the end of the fifteenth century, the King of England, according to currently received opinions, obtained a property in the soil of North America, from the circumstance that Cabot, one of his subjects, was the first Christian who sailed along the coast. Property thus easily acquired, was with equal facility given away. Charles the Second, soon after his restoration to the throne of his ancestors, granted to Edward, Earl of Clarendon, George, Duke of Albemarle, William, Lord Craven, John, Lord Berkeley, Anthony, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton, all the lands lying between the 31st and 36th degree of north latitude. In two years more he enlarged the grant from the 29th degree of north latitude to 36° 30′, and from these points on the sea coast westwardly in parallel lines to the Pacific ocean. Of this immense region the King constituted them absolute lords and proprietors, with the reservation of the dominion of the country to himself and successors. These extensive limits underwent many changes from the resumption of royal charters; treaties—particularly those of 1763 and

1783; royal instructions to governors; boundary lines run and settlements made by authorized commissioners; State cession to Congress; conquests from and treaties with Indians.

The present situation and limits of South Carolina are as follows. It is situated in North America; between 32 and 35° 8′ and 6° 10′ west longitude, from Washington, the seat of government of the United States of America. North Carolina stretches along its northern and northeastern frontier; Tennessee along its northwestern, and Georgia along its southern frontier; and the Atlantic ocean bounds its eastern limits.

South Carolina is bounded northwardly by a line commencing at a cedar stake marked with nine notches on the shore of the Atlantic ocean, near the mouth of Little river, then pursuing by many traverses a coast west-north-west, until it arrives at the fork of Catauba river; thence due west until it arrives at a point of intersection in the Apalachean mountains. From thence, due south until it strikes Chatuga, the most northern branch or stream of Tugoloo river. Thence along the said river Tugoloo to its confluence with the river Keowee; thence along the river Savannah, until it intersects the Atlantic ocean by its most northern mouth; thence northeastwardly, along the Atlantic ocean, including the islands, until it intersects the northern boundary near the entrance of Little river. These boundaries include an area somewhat triangular, of about 24,0080 square miles; whereof 9,570 lie above the falls of the rivers, and 14,510 are between the falls and the Atlantic ocean.

King Charles the Second also gave to the lords proprietors of Carolina authority to enact, with the assent of the freemen of the colony, any laws they should judge necessary; to erect courts of judicature, and to appoint judges, magistrates and officers; to erect forts, castles, cities and towns; to make war, and in case of necessity, to exercise martial law; to build harbors, make ports, and enjoy customs and subsidies, imposed with the consent of the freemen, on goods loaded and unloaded. The King also granted to the proprietors, authority to allow indulgences and dispensations in religious affairs, and that no person to whom such liberty should be granted was to be molested for any difference of speculative opinions with respect to religion, provided he did not disturb the peace of the community.

The preamble of this grant states, "That the grantees being excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel, begged a certain country in the parts of America, not yet cultivated and planted, or only inhabited by some barbarous people who had no knowledge of God." Invested with these ample powers, the proprietors formed a joint stock for

the transportation of settlers to their projected colony. To induce adventurers, they declared, "That all persons settling on Charles river, to the southward of Cape Fear, shall have power to fortify its banks, taking the oath of allegiance to the King, and submitting to the government of the proprietors: that the emigrants may present to them thirteen persons, in order that they may appoint a Governor and council of six, for three years: that an assembly, composed of the Governor, the council, and delegates of the freemen, should be called as soon as the circumstances of the colony would allow, with power to make laws, which should be neither contrary to the laws of England, nor of any validity after the publication of the dissent of the proprietors: that every person should enjoy the most perfect freedom in religion: that during five years every freeman should be allowed one hundred acres of land and fifty for every servant, paying only one half-penny an acre: that the same freedom from customs which had been conferred by the royal charter should be allowed to every one." Such were the original conditions on which Carolina was planted. And thus it was established upon the broad foundation of a regular system of freedom, both civil and religious.

The proprietors, anxious to improve their property, with the aid of the celebrated John Locke, framed a constitution and laws for the government of their colony. These were in substance as follows: "The eldest of the eight proprietors was always to be Palatine, and at his decease was to be succeeded by the eldest of the seven survivors. This Palatine was to sit as President of the Palatine's Court, of which he and three more of the proprietors made a quorum, and had the management and execution of the powers of their charter. This Court was to stand in room of the King, and give their assent or dissent to all laws made by the Legislature of the colony. The Palatine was to have power to nominate and appoint the Governor, who, after obtaining the royal approbation, became his representative in Carolina. Each of the seven proprietors was to have the privilege of appointing a deputy to sit as his representative in Parliament, and to act agreeably to his instructions. Besides a Governor, two other branches, somewhat similar to the old Saxon constitution, were to be established; an upper and lower House of Assembly: which three branches were to be called a Parliament, and to constitute the Legislature of the country. The parliament was to be chosen every two years. No act of the Legislature was to have any force unless ratified in open Parliament, during the same session, and even then to continue no longer in force than the next biennial Parliament, unless in the meantime it be ratified by the hands and seals of the Palatine and three

proprietors. The upper house was to consist of the seven deputies, seven of the oldest landgraves and cassiques, and seven chosen by the Assembly. As in the other provinces, the lower house was to be composed of the representatives from the different counties and towns. Several officers were also to be appointed, such as an admiral, a secretary, a chief justice, a surveyor, a treasurer, a marshal, and register; and besides these, each county was to have a sheriff and four justices of the peace. Three classes of the nobility were to be established, called barons, cassiques, and landgraves; the first to possess twelve, the second twenty-four, and the third forty-eight thousand acres of land, and their possessions were to be unalienable. Military officers were also to be nominated; and all inhabitants, from sixteen to sixty years of age, as in the times of feudal government, when regularly summoned, were to appear under arms, and in time of war to take the field.

With respect to religion, three terms of communion were fixed. First, to believe that there is a God. Secondly, that he is to be worshipped. And thirdly, that it is lawful, and the duty of every man when called upon by those in authority, to bear witness to the truth. Without acknowledging which, no man was permitted to be a freeman, or to have any estate or habitation in Carolina. But persecution for observing different modes and ways of worship, was expressly forbidden; and every man was to be left full liberty of conscience, and might worship God in that manner which he thought most conformable to the Divine will and revealed word.

Notwithstanding these preparations, several years elapsed before the proprietors of Carolina made any serious efforts towards its settlement. In 1667 they fitted out a ship, gave the command of it to Captain William Sayle, and sent him out to bring them some account of the country. He sailed along the coast of Carolina, where he observed several large navigable rivers emptying themselves into the ocean; and a flat country covered with woods. He attempted to go ashore in his boat, but observing some savages on the banks of the rivers, he desisted. Having explored the coast and the mouths of the rivers, he returned to England.

His report to the proprietors was favorable. He praised their possessions, and encouraged them to engage with vigor in the execution of their project. Thus encouraged, they began to make preparations for sending a colony to commence a settlement. Two ships were procured; on board of which a number of adventurers embarked with provisions, arms, and utensils requisite for building and cultivation. William Sayle, who had visited the country, was appointed the first Governor of it; and received a commission, bearing date

July 26th, 1669. The expenses of this first embarkation amounted to twelve thousand pounds sterling. The settlers must have been few in number, and no ways adequate to the undertaking.* The country now called Carolina, on which they settled, was then an immense hunting ground filled with wild animals; overgrown with forests—partly covered with swamps, and roamed over, rather than inhabited, by a great number of savage tribes, subsisting on the chase and often at war with each other.

Governor Sayle first landed at or near Beaufort, early in 1670, but soon moved northwardly and took possession of some high ground on the western banks of Ashley river, near its mouth; and there laid the foundations of old Charlestown. This was also abandoned; and in 1680 Oyster Point, at the confluence of Ashley and Cooper rivers, was fixed upon as the seat of government, and head-quarters of the settlement. Soon after his arrival governor Sayle died, and was succeeded by Joseph West; and he by Sir John Yeamans, who left the colony, and was succeeded by Joseph West on a second appointment. These changes took place in the short space of four years. The people, who had hitherto lived under a species of military government, began about this time to form a Legislature for establishing civil regulations. In the year 1674 the freemen of Carolina, meeting by summons at old Charlestown, elected Representatives for the government of the colony. There was now the Governor, and Upper and Lower House of Assembly; and these three branches took the name of Parliament. Of the laws passed by them nothing is known. The first law which has been found on record in the office of the Secretary of the Province, is dated May 26th, 1682; eight years subsequent to the first meeting of the first Parliament in Carolina. Many were the difficulties with which these settlers had to contend. They were obliged to stand in a constant posture of defence. While one party was employed in raising their little habitations, another was always kept under arms to watch the Indians.

* We have the authority of John Archdale, Governor of South Carolina in 1695, that the number of hostile Indians was considerably lessened about the time this settlement took place. In the second page of his description of South Carolina, printed in 1707, in London, he observed. "That in the first settlement of Carolina, the hand of God was eminently seen in thinning the Indians to make room for the English. As for example; in Carolina in which were seated two potent nations, called the Westoes and Savannahs, which contained many thousands, who broke out into an unusual civil war; and thereby reduced themselves into a small number: and the Westoes, the more cruel of the two, were at the last forced quite out of that province; and the Savannahs continued good friends nd useful neighbors to the English. But again it at other times pleased Almighty God to send unusual sicknesses amongst them, as the small pox, &c., to lessen their numbers; so that the English, in comparison to the Spaniards, have but little Indian blood to answer for."

While they gathered oysters with one hand for subsistence, they were obliged to carry guns in the other for self-defence. The only fresh provisions they could procure were fish from the river, or what game they could kill with their guns. They raised their scanty crops not only with the sweat of their brows, but at the risk of their lives. Except a few negroes, whom Sir John Yeamans and his followers brought with them from Barbadoes, there were no laborers but Europeans. Till the trees were felled, and the grounds cleared, domestic animals could afford to the planters no assistance. White men, exposed to the heat of the climate and the terrors of surrounding savages, had alone to encounter the hardships of clearing and cultivating the ground. Provisions, when raised, were exposed to the plundering parties of Indians. One day often robbed the planter of the dear-bought fruits of a whole year's toil. European grains, with which were made the first experiments of planting, proved suitable neither to soil nor climate. Spots of barren and sandy land, which were first and most easily cleared, poorly rewarded the toil of the cultivator. It was difficult for the proprietors to furnish a regular supply of provisions. All the horrors of a famine were anticipated. The people feeling much, and fearing more, threatened to compel the Governor to abandon the settlement.* One sloop was dispatched to Virginia, and another to Barbadoes to bring provisions. Before their return a supply arrived from England, together with some new settlers, which reanimated the expiring hopes of the colonists.

It might have been expected that these adventurers, who were all embarked on the same design, would be animated by one spirit and zealous to maintain harmony and peace among themselves; for they had all the same hardships to encounter, and the same enemies to fear; yet the reverse took place. The most numerous party in the country were dissenters from the established Church of England. A number of cavaliers having received ample grants of lands, brought over their families and effects and also settled in Carolina. The cavaliers were highly favored by the proprietors, and respected as men of honor, loyalty and fidelity. They met with great encouragement, and were generally preferred to offices of trust and authority. The puritans, on the other hand, viewed them with jealous eyes; and having suffered from them in England, could not bear to see the smallest atom of power committed to them in Carolina. Hence the seeds of strife

* A similar measure had been carried into effect by some French settlers, who had located themselves on the coast of Carolina, about 120 years before. Their settlement was abandoned in less than two years after its commencement, and was never renewed.

and division which had been imported into the colony, began not only to spring, but to grow rank. No common dangers nor difficulties could obliterate the prejudices and animosities which the first settlers had contracted in England. The odious terms or distinction which had prevailed in the mother country, were revived and propagated among the people of the infant colony. While one party was attached to the Church of England the other, which had fled from the rigor of ecclesiastical power, was jealous above all things of their religious liberties and could bear no encroachment on them. The same scenes of debate and contention which had taken place in England, for some time before and after the restoration of Charles the Second, were acted over again on the little theatre of Carolina; but without bloodshed or legal persecution.

Another source of difficulty arose to government from the different manners of the colonists. Several of the first emigrants, unaccustomed to rural labors and frugal simplicity, were pampered citizens; whose wants luxury had increased and rendered impatient of fatigue. By such, the sober lives and rigid morals of the puritans were made the objects of ridicule. The puritans on the other hand, exasperated against their scorners, violently opposed their influence among the people. Hence arose difficulties in framing laws—in distributing justice—and in maintaining public order. Governor West was at no small pains to restrain these dissentions; but having a Council composed of cavaliers, was unable to calm the tumult. In spite of his authority the puritans and cavaliers continued to insult and oppose each other. In consequence of their fierce contentions, the colony was distracted with domestic differences, and poorly prepared for defence against external enemies. Disputes between the proprietors and settlers, were also of an early origin.

In most measures for the immediate support of the colony, they for some time cordially concurred; but this was of short duration. The same scenes which for more than 5000 years had taken place in the Old World, began to open in this settlement of the new. Those who govern and those who are governed, think they can never gain too much on each other. The existence of a court and country party, results from the nature of man; and is found more or less in every Government.

The first contest between the proprietors and the settlers, was respecting advances for the encouragement of the settlers. The former for some time gratuitously supplied the latter with provisions, clothes, and farming utensils. The proprietors afterwards annually sent out similar supplies to be exchanged with the colonists for the productions of their labor, or sold

to them at a small advance on the original cost. After expending upwards of £18,000 sterling, in this manner, for the encouragement of the settlement, they wished to hold their hands and to leave the settlers to depend on their own exertions. The difficulties attendant on the first stage of cultivation furnished the inhabitants with apologies for soliciting a continuation of the customary supplies, and a farther extension of time to pay for them. The economy of the proprietors and the necessities of the settlers, could not easily be compromised. The one thought they had already done too much; the other that they had not received enough. To the latter, requesting a supply of cattle to be sent out to them, the proprietors replied, as a reason for their refusal, "That they wished not to encourage graziers but planters."

It is from this epoch that we may date the prosperity of Carolina; because she was then taught a lesson, which it is of the greatest importance for every individual and every state to know, "That she must altogether depend on her own exertions."

Two parties arose; one in support of the prerogative and authority of the proprietors, the other in defence of the rights and liberties of the people. The former contended that the laws received from England respecting government, ought to be implicitly observed. The latter kept in view their local circumstances, and maintained that the free men of the colony were under obligations to observe them only so far as they were consistent with the interests of individuals, and the prosperity of the settlement. In this situation, no governor could long support his power among a number of bold adventurers, who were impatient of every restraint which had the least tendency to obstruct their favorite views. Whenever he attempted to interpose his feeble authority, they insulted his person and complained of his administration till he was removed from office.

In the short space of four years, from 1682 till 1686, there were no less than five Governors; Joseph Morton, Joseph West, Richard Kirle, Robert Quarry and James Colleton. The last named, who was a landgrave, and brother to one of the proprietors, as well as Governor, determined to exert his authority in compelling the people to pay up their arrears of quit-rents; which, though very trifling, were burdensome, as not one acre out of a thousand, for which quit-rents were demanded, had hitherto yielded any profit. For this purpose, Governor Colleton wrote to the proprietors, requesting them to appoint such deputies as he knew to be most favorably disposed towards their government, and would most readily assist him in the execution of his office. Hence the interest of the

proprietors and that of the people, were placed in opposite scales. The more rigorously the Governor exerted his authority, the more turbulent and riotous the people became. The little community was turned into a scene of confusion.

Landgrave Colleton, mortified at the loss of power, was not a little puzzled in determining what step to take. Gentle means, he perceived, would be vain and ineffectual. One expedient was suggested, which he and his council flattered themselves might induce the people, through fear, to return to his standard and support the person who alone had authority to punish mutiny and sedition. This was to proclaim martial law, and try to maintain by force of arms the proprietary jurisdiction. Accordingly, without letting the people into his secret, he caused the militia to be drawn up as if some danger had threatened the country, and publicly proclaimed martial law at their head. His design, when discovered, served only to exasperate. The members of assembly met, and taking this measure under their deliberation, resolved that it was an encroachment upon their liberties, and an unwarrantable exertion of power, at a time when the colony was in no danger. The Governor insisted on the articles of war, and tried to carry the martial law into execution; but the disaffection was too general to admit of such a remedy. In the year 1690, at a meeting of the representatives, a bill was brought in and passed for disabling landgrave James Colleton from holding any office or exercising any authority, civil or military, within the province. So exasperated were they against him that nothing less than banishment could appease them; and therefore they gave notice to him that in a limited time he must depart from the colony.

During these public commotions, Seth Sothell, pretending to be a proprietor by virtue of some regulations lately made in England, usurped the government of the colony. At first, the people seemed disposed to acknowledge his authority; but afterwards, finding him to be void of every principle of honor and honesty, they abandoned him. Such was the insatiable avarice of this usurper, that his popularity was of small duration. Every restraint of common justice and equity was trampled upon by him, and oppression extended her iron rod over the distracted colony. The fair traders from Barbadoes and Bermuda, were seized as pirates, by order of this Governor, and confined until such fees as he was pleased to enact, were paid. Bribes from felons and traitors, were accepted to favor their escape. Plantations were forcibly taken into possession, upon pretences the most frivolous; planters were compelled to give bonds for large sums of money to procure from him liberty to remain in possession of their pro-

perty. These, and many more acts of the like atrocious nature, were committed by this rapacious Governor during the short time of his administration. At length the people, weary of his impositions and extortions, agreed to take him by force and ship him off for England. Then he humbly begged of them liberty to remain in the country, promising to submit his conduct to the trial of the assembly at their first meeting. When the assembly met, thirteen different charges were brought against him, and all supported by the strongest evidence; upon which, being found guilty, they compelled him to relinquish the government and country for ever. An account of his infamous conduct was drawn up and sent to the proprietors, which filled them with astonishment and indignation. He was ordered to England to answer the accusations brought against him, and was informed that his refusal would be taken as a further evidence and confirmation of his guilt. The law for disabling landgrave James Colleton from holding any authority, civil or military, in Carolina, was repealed; and strict orders were sent out to the grand council to support the power and prerogative of the proprietors. But, to compose the minds of the people, they declared their detestation of such unwarrantable and wanton oppression, and protested that no Governor should ever be permitted to grow rich on their ruins.

Hitherto South Carolina had been a scene of contention and misery. The fundamental constitution, which the proprietors thought the most excellent form of government upon earth, was disregarded. The Governors were either ill qualified for their office, or the instructions given them were injudicious. The inhabitants, far from living in friendship and harmony among themselves, had also been turbulent and ungovernable. The proprietary government was weak, unstable, and little respected. It did not excite a sufficient interest for its own support. The title of landgraves were more burthensome than profitable; especially as they were only joined with large tracts of land, which, from the want of laborers, lay uncultivated. The money arising from the sale of lands and the quit-rents, was inconsiderable—hard to be collected, and by no means equal to the support of government. The proprietors were unwilling to involve their English estates for the improvement of American property; and, on the whole, their government was ill supported.

Another source of controversy between the proprietors and the people, was the case of the French refugees. Many of these, exiled from their own country towards the close of the 17th century, had settled in the province; particularly in

Craven county.* They were an orderly, industrious, religious people. Several brought property with them which enabled them to buy land, and settle with greater advantages than many of the poorer English emigrants. While they were busy in clearing and cultivating their lands, the English settlers began to revive national antipathies against them and to consider the French as aliens and foreigners, legally entitled to none of the privileges and advantages of natural born subjects. The proprietors took part with the refugees, and instructed their Governor, Philip Ludwell, who, in 1692, had been appointed the successor of Seth Sothell, to allow the French settled in Craven county, the same privileges and liberties with the English colonists; but the people carried their jealousy so far, that at the next election for members to serve in the Assembly, Craven county, in which the French refugees lived, was not allowed a single representative. At this period, the Assembly of South Carolina consisted of twenty members, all chosen in Charlestown.

A further cause of dissention respected the trial of pirates. The proprietors, mortified at the inefficacy of the laws in bringing these enemies of mankind to justice, instructed Governor Lee to change the form of drawing juries; and required that all pirates should be tried and punished by the laws of England, made for the suppression of piracy; but this innovation in the laws of the colony, was opposed by the people.

There subsisted a constant struggle between the inhabitants and the officers of the proprietors. The former claimed great exemptions on account of their indigent circumstances. The latter were anxious to discharge the duties of their trust, and to comply with the instructions of their superiors. When quit-rents were demanded, some refused payment; others had nothing to offer. When actions were brought for their recovery, the planters murmured and were discontented at the terms of holding their lands. The fees of the Courts and Sheriffs were such that, in all actions of small value they exceeded the debt. To remedy this inconvenience, the Assembly made a law for empowering Justices of the Peace to hear, and finally to determine all causes not exceeding forty shillings sterling. This was agreeable to the people, but not to the officers of justice. Governor Ludwell proposed to the Assembly to consider of a new form of a deed for holding

* South Carolina, soon after its first settlement, was divided into four counties, Berkeley, Craven, Colleton and Carteret. Berkeley county filled the space round the capital; Craven to the northward; and Colleton contained Port Royal, and the islands in its vicinity, to the distance of thirty miles. Carteret lay to the southwest.

lands, by which he encroached on the prerogative of the proprietors, incurred their displeasure, and was soon after removed from the government.

To find another man equally well qualified for the trust, was a matter of no small difficulty. Thomas Smith, being in high estimation for his wisdom and probity, was deemed to be the most proper person to succeed Ludwell. Accordingly, a patent was sent out creating him a landgrave;* and, together with it, a commission investing him with the government of the colony. Mr. Ludwell returned to Virginia, happily relieved from a troublesome office; and landgrave Smith, in the year 1693, under all possible advantages, entered on it. He was previously acquainted with the state of the colony, and with the tempers and dispositions of the leading men in it. He knew that the interests of the proprietors, and the prosperity of the settlement, were inseparably connected. He was disposed to allow the people, struggling under many hardships, every indulgence consistent with the duties of his trust.

The government of the province still remained in a confused and turbulent state. Complaints from every quarter were made to the Governor, who was neither able to quiet the minds of the people nor to afford them the relief they wanted. The French refugees were uneasy that there was no provincial law to secure their estates to the heirs of their body, or the next of kin; and feared that on the demise of the present possessors, their lands would escheat to the proprietors and their children become beggars. The English colonists, also, perplexed the Governor with their complaints of hardships and grievances. At last, landgrave Smith wrote to the proprietors that he despaired of ever uniting the people in interest and affection—that he and many more, weary of the fluctuating state of public affairs, had resolved to leave the province; and that he was convinced nothing would bring the settlers to a state of tranquility and harmony, unless they

* This patent, dated May 13th, 1691, after reciting the authority of the proprietors to constitute titles and honors in the province; and to prefer men of merit, and to adorn such with titles and honors; and also stating the fundamental constitutions by which it was established—"that there should be landgraves and cassiques, who should be perpetual and hereditary nobles and peers of the province; and that Thomas Smith, a person of singular merit, would be very serviceable by his great prudence and industry;" proceeds to constitute him landgrave, together with four baronies of 12,000 acres of land each: and it farther declares, "that the said title and four baronies should for ever descend to his heirs, on paying an annual rent of a penny, lawful money of England, for each acre."

If the proprietary government had continued, the title, honors, emoluments and lands derived from this patent, would now be possessed by Thomas Smith, son of Henry, who is the lineal heir of the original Thomas Smith. Such have been the changes which, in the course of a little more than a century, have taken place, that this is the only known instance in which any one of Mr. Locke's Carolina nobility can trace back his pedigree to the original founder.

sent out one of the proprietors with full powers to redress grievances, and settle differences in their colony.

The proprietors resolved to try the expedient landgrave Smith had suggested, and sent out John Archdale, a man of considerable knowledge and discretion—a quaker and a proprietor.

The arrival of this pious man occasioned no small joy among all the settlers. Private animosities and civil discords seemed for a while to lie buried in oblivion. The Governor soon found three interesting matters demanded his particular attention: to restore harmony and peace among the colonists: to reconcile them to the jurisdiction and authority of the proprietors: and to regulate their policy and traffic with the Indians. Such was the national antipathy of the English settlers to the French refugees, that Archdale found their total exclusion from all connection with the legislature was absolutely necessary; and therefore issued writs of elections directing them only to Berkeley and Colleton counties. Ten members for the one and ten for the other, all Englishmen, were accordingly chosen by the freemen of the same nation. At their meeting the Governor made a seasonable speech to both houses, acquainting them with the design of his appointment—his regard for the colony—and great desire of contributing towards its peace and prosperity. They in return presented affectionate addresses to him, and entered on public business with temper and moderation. Governor Archdale, by his great discretion, settled matters of general moment to the satisfaction of all excepting the French refugees. The price of lands, and the form of conveyances, were fixed by law. Three years' rent was remitted to those who held land by grant, and four years to such as held them by survey without grant. It was agreed to take the arrears of quit-rents either in money or commodities at the option of the planters. Magistrates were appointed for hearing causes between the settlers and Indians, and finally determining all differences between them. Public roads were ordered to be made, and water passages cut for the more easy conveyance of produce to the market. Some former laws were altered, and such new statutes made as were judged requisite for the government and peace of the colony. Public affairs began to put on an agreeable aspect, and to promise fair towards the future welfare of the settlement. But as for the French refugees, the Governor could do no more than to recommend to the English freeholders to consider them in the most friendly point of light and to treat them with lenity and moderation.

No man could entertain more benevolent sentiments with respect to the savages, than Governor Archdale. To protect

them against insults, and establish a fair trade and friendly intercourse with them, were regulations which humanity required and sound policy dictated. But the rapacious spirit of individuals could be curbed by no authority. Many advantages were taken of the ignorance of Indians in the way of traffic. Several of the inhabitants, and some of those who held high offices, were too deeply concerned in the abominable trade to be easily restrained from seizing their persons and selling them for slaves to the West India planters.

Governor Archdale having finished his negotiations in Carolina, made preparations for returning to Britain. Though the government, during his administration, had acquired considerable respect and stability, yet the differences among the people still remained. Former flames were rather smothered than extinguished, and were ready on the first stirring to break out and burn with increased violence. Before he embarked the Council presented to him an address, to be transmitted to the proprietors, expressing "the deep sense they had of their Lordship's paternal care for the colony, in the appointment of a man of such abilities and integrity to the government, who had been so happily instrumental in establishing its peace and security." They observed, "that they had now no contending factions nor clashing interests among the people, excepting what respected the French refugees; who were unhappy at their not being allowed all the privileges and liberties of English subjects, particularly those of sitting in assembly and voting at the election of its members, which could not be granted them without losing the affections of the English settlers and involving the colony in civil broils—that Governor Archdale, by the advice of his council, chose rather to refuse them these privileges than disoblige the bulk of the English settlers—that by his wise conduct they hoped all misunderstandings between their Lordships and the colonists were happily removed—that they would for the future cheerfully concur with them in every measure for the speedy population and improvement of the country—that they were now levying money for building fortifications to defend the province against foreign attacks, and that they would strive to maintain harmony and peace among themselves." Governor Archdale received this address with peculiar satisfaction, and promised to present it to the proprietors.

After his arrival in England he laid this address, together with a state of the country and the regulations he had established in it, before the proprietors; and showed them the necessity of abolishing many articles in the constitutions, and framing a new plan of government. Accordingly they began to compile new constitutions from his information. Forty-

one different articles were drawn up, and sent out, by Robert Daniel, for the better government of the colony. But when Governor Joseph Blake, successor of Archdale, laid these new laws before the Assembly for their assent and approbation, they treated them as they had done the former constitutions; and instead of taking them under deliberation laid them aside.

The national antipathies against the French refugees in process of time began to abate. In common with others, they had defied the danger of the desert and given ample proofs of their fidelity to the proprietors, and their zeal for the success of the colony. They had cleared little spots of land for raising the necessaries of life, and in some measure surmounted the difficulties of the first state of colonization. At this favorable juncture the refugees, by the advice of the Governor and other friends, petitioned the legislature to be incorporated with the freemen of the colony and allowed the same privileges, and liberties, with those born of English parents. Accordingly an act passed in 1696 for making all aliens, them inhabitants, free—for enabling them to hold lands, and to claim the same as heirs to their ancestors, provided they either had petitioned, or should within three month's petition, Governor Blake for these privileges and take the oath of allegiance to King William. This same law conferred liberty of conscience on all Christians, with the exception of papists. With these conditions the refugees, who were all Protestants, joyfully complied. The French and English settlers being made equal in rights, became united in interest and affection, and have ever since lived together in peace and harmony.

This cause of domestic discord was scarcely done away, when another began to operate. In the year 1700 a new source of contention broke out between the upper and lower houses of Assembly. Of the latter Nicholas Trott was made Speaker, and warmly espoused the cause of the people, in opposition to the interest of the proprietors. The Governor and Council claimed the privilege of nominating public officers, particularly a Receiver General, until the pleasure of the proprietors was known. The Assembly, on the other hand, insisted that it belonged to them. This occasioned much altercation, and several messages between the two houses. However, the upper house appointed their man. The lower house resolved that the person appointed by them was no Public Receiver, and that whoever should presume to pay money to him as such should be deemed an enemy to the country. Trott denied that they could be called an upper house, as they differed in the most essential circumstances, from the House of Lords in England; and therefore induced

the Assembly to call them the proprietors' deputies, and to treat them with indignity and contempt, by limiting them to a day to pass their bills and an hour to answer their messages. At that time Trott was eager in the pursuit of popularity; and by his uncommon abilities and address succeeded so far, that no man had equally engrossed the public favor and esteem, or carried matters with so high a hand in opposition to the proprietary counsellors.

In the fourteen years which followed Governor Archdale's return to England, or from 1696 to 1710, there were four Governors; Joseph Blake, James Moore, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, and Edward Tynte. The principal events, in this period, were an unsuccessful invasion of St. Augustine by the Carolinians, and a successful defence of the province against an attack of the French and Spaniards; which shall be more particularly explained in their proper places.

In Governor Johnson's administration, which lasted from 1702 to 1709, parties in Church and State ran high, and there were great commotions among the people; but on the death of Governor Tynte, in 1710, a civil war was on the point of breaking out. When Tynte died, there remained only three deputies of the Lords proprietors. Robert Gibbes, one of these three, was chosen and proclaimed Governor; but by the sudden death of Mr. Turbevil, one of the three deputies, who in the morning of the election day had voted for Colonel Broughton, another of the three deputies, but upon adjournment to the afternoon changed his mind and voted for Robert Gibbes, it was discovered that Robert Gibbes had obtained the said second vote of Turbevil by bribery. Colonel Broughton laid claim to the government, alleging Turbevil's primary and uncorrupted vote in his favor. Gibbes insisted on his right,* as having added his own vote to Turbevil's and thereby obtained a majority; and in consequence thereof was proclaimed Governor, and quietly settled in the administration. Each persisted in his claim. Many sided with Broughton, but more with Mr. Gibbes. Broughton drew together a number of armed men at his plantation, and proceeded to Charlestown. Gibbes having intelligence thereof, caused a general alarm to be fired and the militia to be raised. At the approach of Broughton's party to the walls and gates of Charlestown, Gibbes ordered the drawbridge, standing near the intersection of Broad and Meeting streets, to be hauled up. After a short parley, Broughton's party asked admit-

*These particulars relative to the contest between Gibbes and Broughton for the office of Governor are stated on the authority of an old manuscript in the handwriting of the venerable Thomas Lamboll, a native of South Carolina, who died in the year 1775, upwards of 80 years old.

tance; Gibbes from within the walls inquired why they came armed in such a number, and if they would own him for their Governor? They answered, that they heard there was an alarm and were come to make their appearance in Charlestown; but would not own him, the said Gibbes, to be their Governor. He of course denied them entrance; whereupon many of them galloped round the walls towards Craven's bastion, to get entrance there; but being prevented they soon returned to the drawbridge. By this time some of the inhabitants of the town, and many sailors appearing there in favor of Broughton, they proceeded to force a passage and let down the drawbridge. Gibbes' party opposed, but were not allowed to fire upon them. After blows and wounds were given and received, the sailors and men of Broughton's party prevailed so far as to lower down the drawbridge over which they entered and proceeded to the watch-house in Broad street. There the two town companies of militia were posted under arms and with colors flying. When Broughton's party came near they halted, and one of them drew a paper out of his pocket, and began to read; but could not be heard, because of the noise made by the drums of the militia. Being balked, they marched towards Granville's bastion, and were escorted by the seamen on foot who were ready for any mischief. As they passed the front of the militia, whose guns were presented and cocked, one of the sailors catching at the ensign, tore it off the staff. On this provocation some of the militia, without any orders, fired their pieces, but nobody was hurt. Captain Brewton resolutely drew his sword, went up to the sailor, who had committed the outrage, and demanded the torn ensign. Captain Evans, a considerable man of Broughton's party, alighted and obliged the sailor to return it. Broughton's party continued their march for some time, and then proclaimed Broughton Governor. After huzzaing, they approached the fort gate, and made a show of forcing it; but observing Captain Pawley with his pistol cocked, and many other gentlemen with their guns presented and all forbiding them at their peril to attempt the gate, they retired to a tavern on the bay; before which they first caused their written paper or proclamation to be again read, and then dismounted. After much altercation, many reciprocal messages and answers, and the mediation of several peace-makers, the controversy was referred to the decision of the Lords proprietors; and it was agreed that Colonel Gibbes should continue in the administration of government, until they determined which of the two should be obeyed as Governor. Their determination was in favor of neither. The proprietors appointed Charles Craven, who then held their commission

as Secretary, to be Governor. He was proclaimed in form, and took upon him the administration. During his government, the province was involved in two sharp contests with the Indians. One in North Carolina with the Tuscaroras, and another much more distressing with the Yamassees, which were ably and successfully conducted by the Governor, as shall be related in its proper place. On his departure for England, in 1716, he appointed Robert Daniel, Deputy Governor. In the year following, Robert Johnson, son of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, succeeded to the office of Governor. He was the last who held that office under the authority of the proprietors.

CIVIL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHAPTER III.

The Revolution in 1719, *from Proprietary to Royal Government.*

In the administration of Robert Johnson, a revolution from proprietary to a regal system of government was accomplished. The explosion took place in the year 1719; but the train of events which occasioned it was of prior origin. From the first settlement of the province, short had been the intervals of contention between the proprietors and the people; but from the year 1715, various causes contributed to widen the breach and destroy all confidence between them. One in particular, which had a decided influence, resulted from the war of 1715, between South Carolina and the Yamassee Indians. While this hard struggle was pending, the legislature made application to the proprietors for their paternal help; but, being doubtful whether they would be inclined to involve their English estates in debt for supporting their property in Carolina, they instructed their agent, in case of failure with them, to apply to the King for relief. The merchants entered cordially into the measure for making application to the King, and perceived at once the many advantages which would accrue to them from being taken under the immediate care and protection of the crown. It was alleged that ships of war would soon clear the coast of sea robbers, and give free scope to trade and navigation—that forces by land would over-awe the warlike Indians—prevent their inroads, and procure for

the inhabitants peace and security. The people in general, were dissatisfied with living under a government unable to protect them. They therefore were very unanimous in the proposed application to the crown for royal protection.

About the middle of the year 1715 the agent for Carolina waited on the proprietors, with a representation of the calamities under which their colony labored from the ravages of Indians and the depredations of pirates. He acquainted them that the Yamassees, by the influence of Spanish emissaries, had claimed the whole country as their ancient possession; and had conspired with many other tribes to assert their right by force of arms, and therefore urged the necessity of sending immediate relief to the colony. But not being satisfied with their answer, he petitioned the house of commons in behalf of the distressed Carolinians. The commons addressed the King, praying for his interposition and immediate assistance. The King referred the matter to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations. The lords of trade made an objection that the province of Carolina was one of the proprietary governments; and were of opinion, that if the nation should be at the expense of protecting it, the government thereof ought to be vested in the crown. Upon which Lord Carteret wrote a letter to the following effect: "We, the proprietors of Carolina, are utterly unable to afford our colony suitable assistance in this conjuncture; and, unless his majesty will graciously please to interpose, we can foresee nothing but the utter destruction of his majesty's faithful subjects in those parts." The lords of trade asked Lord Carteret, "What sum might be necessary for that service, and whether the government of the colony should not devolve on the crown if Great Britain should agree to bear the expense of its defence?" To which Lord Carteret replied: "The proprietors submitted to his majesty what sum of money he should be pleased to grant for their assistance; and in case the money advanced for this purpose should not in a reasonable time be repaid, they humbly conceived that then his majesty would have an equitable right to take the government under his immediate care and protection."

The same year a bill was brought into the House of Commons in England, for the better regulation of the charter and proprietary governments in America; the chief design of which was to reduce all charter and proprietary governments into regal ones. Men conversant in the history of past ages, particularly in that of the rise and progress of different States, had long foreseen the rapid increase of American colonies; and wisely judged that it would be for the interest of the kingdom to purchase them for the crown as soon as possible.

One of the ostensible grounds on which the proprietors had obtained their charter, was the prospect of their propagating the Gospel among the Indians. Their total neglect of this duty, contrasted with the active policy of the Spaniards at St. Augustine, was considered by the inhabitants as a procuring cause of all their sufferings from the Yamassee war. To answer the public exigences growing out of that war, large emissions of paper money were deemed indispensable. While struggling amidst these hardships, the merchants of London complained to the proprietors of the increase of paper money as injurious to trade. In consequence of which they directed the Governor to reduce it. These several matters formed a circle of embarrassment from which the inhabitants saw no prospect of extrication, but from throwing themselves on the crown for protection. They referred their war with the Indians to the neglect of the proprietors in conciliating their affections. The proprietors, when called upon to assist in repelling the attacks made by these neglected Indians, declared themselves incompetent. On application for royal aid, they were told by ministers that it was unreasonable to expect it while they were the tenants of the proprietors. Disappointed of aid from both, they had made exertions to defend themselves; but the proprietary Governor, agreeably to his instructions, thwarted their endeavors to equalize and lessen the expenses of the war by an emission of paper money. A dissatisfaction with the proprietors, and an eagerness to be under the immediate protection of the crown, became universal.

This was increased from another source. The Yamassees being expelled from Indian land, the Assembly passed two Acts to appropriate these lands gained by conquest, for the use and encouragement of such of his Majesty's subjects as should come over and settle upon them. Extracts of these two Acts being published in England, and Ireland, five hundred persons from Ireland transported themselves to Carolina to take the benefit of them. But the whole project was frustrated by the proprietors, who claimed these lands as their property and insisted on the right of disposing of them as they thought fit. Not long afterwards, to the utter ruin of the Irish emigrants, and in breach of the provincial faith, these Indian lands were surveyed by order of the proprietors for their own use, and laid out in large baronies. By this harsh usage the old settlers, having lost the protection of the new comers, deserted their plantation and left the frontier open to the enemy. Many of the unfortunate Irish emigrants, having spent the little money they brought with them, were reduced to misery and perished. The remainder removed to the northern colonies.

The struggle between the proprietors and possessors of the soil became daily more serious. The provincial Assembly passed about this time some very popular laws. One for the better regulation of the Indian trade, by which Commissioners were nominated to carry it on and to apply the profit arising from it to the public benefit and defence. Another was for regulating elections; by which it was enacted "that every parish should send a certain number of representatives, not exceeding thirty-six in the whole, and that they should be ballotted for at the different parish churches." This, though much more convenient to the settlers than their former custom of electing all the members in Charlestown, was disagreeable to some members of the Council who perceived its tendency to lessen their influence at elections. Chief Justice Trott and William Rhett, Receiver General, men of great abilities and influence, opposed both these bills. Though they could not prevent their passing in Carolina, they had influence enough with the proprietors to send them back repealed. The colonists were exasperated; and in severe language censured the proprietors as tyrannical, regardless of the convenience of the inhabitants, and unfeeling for their distresses.

The Yamassee Indians, smarting under their recent defeat as shall be hereafter related, were sanguinary and vindictive. Being supplied with arms and ammunition from the Spaniards, they were so troublesome as to make it necessary for the Assembly to maintain a company of Rangers to protect their frontier settlers. Presents were necessary to preserve the friendship of other Indian tribes. Three forts were also erected and garrisoned for the defence, and at the cost of the province. These public expenses consumed the fruits of the planter's industry. The law appropriating the profits of the Indian trade, for the public protection, had been repealed by the proprietors. Public credit was at so low an ebb, that no man was willing to trust his money in the provincial treasury. None would risk their lives in defence of the colony without pay; and the province, oppressed with a load of debt, was utterly unable to furnish the necessary supplies. The people complained of the insufficiency of that government which could not protect them, and at the same time prevented the interposition of the crown for their relief. Governor Daniel joined them in their complaints: and every one seemed ardently to wish for those advantages, which other colonies enjoyed under the immediate care and protection of a powerful sovereign.

Robert Johnson, who, in 1717, succeeded Robert Daniel as Governor, had instructions to reduce the paper currency. He recommended to the Assembly to consider of ways and

means for sinking it. The Indian war had occasioned a scarcity of provisions. Large emissions of paper money sunk its value. Both contributed to raise the price of country commodities. The merchants and money lenders were losers by these bills of credit, and the planters, who were generally in debt, gained by them. Hence great debates about paper money arose in the Assembly, between the planting and mercantile interests. The Governor had so much influence as to prevail with the Assembly to pass a law for sinking and paying off their bills of credit in three years, by a tax on lands and negroes. Their act for that purpose gave great satisfaction both to the proprietors and people concerned in trade.

This compliance of the Assembly with the Governor's instructions, gave him some faint prospect of reconciling them by degrees to the supreme jurisdiction of the proprietors; but his hopes were of short duration. The planters, finding the tax act burdensome, began to complain, and to contrive ways and means for eluding it, by stamping more bills of credit. The proprietors, having information of this, and also of a design formed by the Assembly to set a price on country commodities, and make them at such a price a good tender in law for the payment of all debts, enjoined their Governor not to give his assent to any bill framed by the Assembly, nor to render it of any force in the Colony before a copy thereof should be laid before them. About the same time the King, by his order in council, signified to the proprietors that they should repeal an act passed in Carolina of pernicious consequence to the trade of the mother country, by which "a duty of ten per cent. was laid on all goods of British manufacture imported into that province." Accordingly, this act, together with that "for regulating elections," and another "for declaring the right of the Assembly to nominate a public receiver," were all repealed and sent to Governor Johnson in a letter, which enjoined him instantly to dissolve the Assembly and call another to be chosen in Charlestown, according to the ancient usage of the province. The proprietors considered themselves as possessing not only power to put a negative on all laws made in the Colony, but also to repeal such as they deemed pernicious.

Governor Johnson, sensible of the evil consequences that would attend the immediate execution of these orders, convened his council to take their advice on what was most proper to be done. When he communicated his orders and instructions from England, the majority of the council were astonished. But as the Assembly were at that time deliberating on the means of paying the provincial debt, it was agreed to postpone the dissolution of the house until the busi-

ness before them should be finished. As the repeal of the duty law was occasioned by an order from the King in council, they resolved to acquaint the Assembly immediately with the royal displeasure at that clause of the law which laid an impost duty on all goods manufactured in Great Britain, and to advise them to make a new act, leaving out the clause which had given offence. Though great pains were taken to conceal the Governor's instructions, yet they were divulged, and excited violent resentments. The Assembly entered into a warm debate about the proprietors' right of repealing laws passed with the assent of their deputies. Many alleged that the deputation given to them was like a power of attorney sent to persons at a distance, authorizing them to act in their stead, and insisted that, according to the charter, they were bound by their assent to acts as much as if the proprietors themselves had been present and confirmed them.

Chief Justice Trott was suspected of holding a private correspondence with the proprietors, to the prejudice of the Carolinians. On that and several grounds he was the object of their hatred and resentment. Richard Allein Whitaker, and other practitioners of the law, charged him with base and iniquitous practices. No less than thirty-one articles of complaint against him were presented to the Assembly, setting forth, among other things, "that he had contrived many ways to multiply and increase his fees; that he had contrived a fee for continuing causes from one term to another, and put off the hearing of them for years; that he took upon him to give advice in causes depending in his courts, and not only acted as counsellor in these cases, but had drawn deeds between party and party, some of which had been contested before him as Chief Justice, and in determining of which he had shown great partiality; and lastly, complaining that the whole judicial power of the province was lodged in his hands, he being at the same time sole Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, King's Bench and Vice Admiralty, so that no prohibition could be lodged against the proceedings of these courts, otherwise than by his granting one against himself. He was, at the same time, a member of the council, and of consequence a Judge of the Court of Chancery.

These articles of complaint were well grounded, and the facts alleged were supported by strong evidence before the Assembly. But as the Judge held his commission from the proprietors, he denied that he was accountable to the Assembly for any part of his judicial conduct, and declared that he would answer no where but in England. The Assembly, however, sent a message to the Governor and Council, requesting that they would concur in representing his conduct

to the proprietors; and in praying them either to remove him from his seat in the courts of justice, or at least to confine him exclusively to one jurisdiction; and to grant to the people a right of appealing from his judgments. The Governor and Council, convinced of the maladministration of the Judge, agreed to join the Commons in their representation. But they thought it most prudent and respectful to send one of their counsellors to England with their memorial. Francis Yonge, a man of considerable abilities, who had been present at all their debates, was pitched upon as well qualified for giving their lordships a faithful account of the whole matter. Accordingly he sailed for England, and arrived in London early in the year 1719.

Soon after his arrival he waited on Lord Carteret, the palatine; but his lordship referred him to the other proprietors for an answer to his representation. When they met, Yonge delivered to them a letter from Governor Johnson—the articles of complaint against Chief Justice Trott—and the joint address of the Governor, Council, and Assembly, praying to have him removed entirely from the bench, or confined to a single jurisdiction.

This memorial was far from being agreeable to the proprietors; some of them inferred from it that the people were industrious in searching for causes of dissatisfaction, with a view to shake the proprietary authority. Others had received letters from Trott, which intimated that Yonge, though an officer of the proprietors, had assisted the people in forming plausible pretences for that purpose. For three months Yonge attended the palatine's court, to accomplish the ends of his appointment. After all he was given to understand, that the business on which he came was extremely disagreeable to them—that the trouble he had taken, and the office he had accepted as agent for the people, were inconsistent with his duty as one of the deputies bound to act in conformity to their instructions. They declared their displeasure with the members of the Council who had joined the lower house in their complaints against Trott—removed them from the board—appointed others in their place—and increased the number of members from seven to twelve. They told Yonge that he also would have been deprived of his seat but for the high respect they had for Lord Carteret, the absent palatine, whose deputy he was. With respect to Chief Justice Trott, they had too much confidence in his fidelity and capacity to remove him from his office. On the contrary, they sent him a letter thanking him for his excellent speech in defence of their right of repealing all laws made in the colony, together with a copy of the articles of complaint against him. At the same time they informed him that it was their opinion,

and order, that he should withdraw from the Council-board whenever appeals from his judgments in the inferior courts were brought before the Governor and Council as a Court of Chancery.

Such was the result of Yonge's negotiation in Britain. The proprietors were displeased with him, and also with Governor Johnson, for joining the other branches of the Legislature in their late representation. By the return of Yonge they sent out their repeal of the late popular acts of the Legislature, their list of new counsellors, with positive orders to the Governor to publish immediately the repeal of the late popular laws—to convene the new Counsellors for the dispatch of business—to dissolve the Assembly chosen according to the late act, and to cause a new Assembly to be elected according to the old act which required all the electors to meet and vote in Charlestown.

Governor Johnson on receiving these new orders and instructions, instantly foresaw the difficulty of executing them. Determined, however to comply, he summoned his Council of twelve, whom the proprietors had lately nominated. These were William Bull, Ralph Izard, Nicholas Trott, Charles Hart, Samuel Wragg, Benjamin de la Consiliere, Peter St. Julian, William Gibbon, Hugh Butler, Francis Yonge, Jacob Satur, and Jonathan Skrine. Some of these accepted the appointment, but others refused to serve. Alexander Skene, Thomas Broughton, and James Kinloch, members of the former board, being now left out of the new list of counsellors, were disgusted and joined the people. The present Assembly was dissolved; and writs were issued for electing another in Charlestown, according to the ancient usage of the province. The general duty act, from the proceeds of which all public debts were defrayed, and the act respecting the freedom of election were repealed. In consequence of which, public credit was destroyed, and the Colonists were obliged to have recourse to the old inconvenient manner of elections in Charlestown. The act declaring the right of the Commons to nominate a Public Receiver was also annulled, and declared to be contrary to the usage of Great Britain. The Governor had instructions to refuse his assent to all laws respecting the trade and shipping of Great Britain, which any future Assembly might pass, until they were first approved by the proprietors. The provincial debts incurred by the Indian war, and the expedition against pirates not only remained unpaid, but no more bills of credit were allowed to be stamped for answering the public demands. The Colonists considered the new Council of twelve, instead of the old one of seven, as an innovation in the proprietary government; exceeding the chartered power granted their lordships, and subjecting them to a

jurisdiction foreign to the constitution of the province. The complaints of the whole Legislature against Chief Justice Trott were not only disregarded, but he was privately caressed and publicly applauded. These grievances were rendered the more intolerable, from the circumstance that the suffering colonists could indulge no hopes of redress under the existing system of proprietary government.

It may be thought somewhat astonishing, that the proprietors should have persisted in measures so disagreeable and so manifestly subversive of their authority. Many were the hardships from the climate, and the danger from savages, with which the colonists had to struggle; yet their landlords, instead of rendering their circumstances easy and comfortable, seemed rather bent on doubling their distresses. The people could no longer regard them as indulgent fathers, but as tyrannical legislators that imposed more on them than they were able to bear. It was the duty of the proprietors to listen to their complaints, and redress their grievances. It was their interest to consult the internal security and population of their colony. But perhaps the troubles and miseries suffered by the colonists, ought to be ascribed to their lordships' shameful inattention rather than to their tyrannical disposition. Lord Carteret, the palatine, held high offices of trust under the crown, which required all his time and care. Some of the proprietors were minors, others possessed estates in England, the improvement of which engrossed their attention. Having reaped little or nothing from their American possessions, and finding them every year becoming more troublesome and expensive, they trusted the affairs of their colony too much to a clerk or secretary who was no ways interested in their prosperity. Chief Justice Trott, in whose integrity and fidelity the proprietors placed unlimited confidence, held of them many offices of trust and emolument. Being dependent on them for the tenure of his office, and the amount and payment of his salary, he strongly supported their power and prerogative. The proprietors depended on his influence and eloquence, to make their favorite measures go down with the people. Trott vindicated their authority in gratitude for favors received, and in the expectation of receiving more. A reciprocal chain of dependence and obligation was formed between them. This interested policy was carried too far. The chain broke. A new order of things took place. In consequence of which Trott's influence was completely destroyed, and the power of the proprietors forever annihilated.

About this time, a rupture having taken place between the courts of Great Britain and Spain, a project for attacking

South Carolina and the Island of Providence was formed at the Havanna. Governor Johnson having received advice from England of this design, resolved to put the Province in a posture of defence. For this purpose he summoned a meeting of Council, and of such members of Assembly as were in town, to inform them of the intelligence he had received and to desire their advice and assistance in case of any sudden emergency. He told them of the shattered condition of the fortifications, and urged the necessity of speedy reparations. To meet the expense he proposed a voluntary subscription, and headed it with his own signature to a large amount as an example to others. The members of Assembly replied, "that a subscription was needless, as the income of the duties would be sufficient to answer the purpose intended." The Governor objected, "that the duty law had been repealed, and no other yet framed in its place." To which the members of Assembly answered, "they had resolved to pay no regard to these repeals, and that the public receiver had orders from them to sue every man that should refuse to pay as that law directed." Chief Justice Trott told them, "if any action or suit should be brought into his courts on that law, he would give judgment for the defendant." The contest between the parties became warm, and the conference broke up before anything was determined upon for the public safety. The members of Assembly resolved to hazard the loss of the Province to the Spaniards, rather than yield to the Council and acknowledge the right of the proprietors to repeal laws which had been regularly passed.

Governor Johnson judging it prudent to be always in the best posture of defence, called a meeting of the field officers of the militia, ordered them to review their regiments, and fixed a place of general rendezvous. At this meeting they received their orders with their usual submission, and called together the different regiments on pretence of training the men. But before this time the members chosen to serve in Assembly, though they had not met in their usual and regular way at Charlestown, had nevertheless held several private meetings in the country to concert measures for revolting from their allegiance. They had drawn up an association for uniting the whole Province in opposition to the proprietary government. This was proposed to the people at the public meeting of the militia, as an opportunity the most favorable for procuring a general subscription. The people oppressed and discontented, eagerly embraced the proposal; and almost to a man subscribed this bond of union, in which they promised to stand by each other in defence of their rights, against the tyranny of the proprietors and their officers. The

confederacy was formed with such secrecy, that before it reached the Governor's ears nearly all the inhabitants had concurred in it. The members of Assembly, having formed their resolution to revolt, and gone so far as to induce the people to support them, determined to proceed until they should bring themselves under the protection of the King.

At the election in Charlestown, Trott and Rhett, who formerly had extensive influence, were so unpopular that they could not bring one man into the house. Alexander Skene, lately excluded from the Council, was elected a member of this new Assembly, which was chosen on purpose to oppose the civil officers. Considering himself as ill used by the proprietors, he became zealous and active in pulling down the tottering fabric of their government. He and several other members of Assembly held frequent meetings to consider of their grievances, and the encouragement they had received from Britain respecting the great end they had in view. They recalled to mind what had passed in the House of Peers during the reign of Queen Anne—how her Majesty had then ordered her Attorney and Solicitor General, to consider of the most effectual methods of proceeding against the charter. They knew also that a bill had been brought into the House of Commons, for reducing all charter and proprietary governments into regal ones. They had been informed that Lord Carteret, conscious of the inability of the proprietors to defend their Province in the Yamassee war, had publicly applied for assistance from the British Government; and that the Lords of Trade were of opinion, that the government of the Province should belong to that power which bore the expense of its protection. They had considered all these things, and flattered themselves with hopes that the King would take the colony under his care as soon as they renounced allegiance to the proprietors. They had so thoroughly convinced the people of the great happiness of the colonies which were under the immediate care and protection of the crown, that they desired nothing more than to enjoy the same privileges.

To these secret meetings, and transactions, Governor Johnson was an entire stranger until he received a letter bearing date November 28th, 1719, and signed by Alexander Skene, George Logan, and William Blakeway; in which they informed him of the general association to throw off the proprietary government, and of the determination of the people to request his acceptance of the government from them in behalf of the King. They also gave it as their opinion that he might with honor accept the government thus offered, and advised him to do so. The Governor considered this letter, though fraught with the highest professions of personal

respect, as an insult; but especially the advice contained therein, which he deemed derogatory both to his integrity and fidelity. The letter, however, served to give him notice of the association and the resolution of the people which it was his duty to defeat. For this purpose he hastened to town, summoned his Council—informed them of the association, and required their advice and assistance about the most effectual methods of breaking it up and supporting the proprietary government. The Council, unable to determine what was best to be done, advised the Governor to take no present notice of the proceedings, but to wait events.

In the meantime, the members of Assembly were using their utmost diligence among the people to keep them firm to their purpose, having got almost every person, except the officers and particular friends of the proprietors, to sign the association. All agreed to support whatever their representatives should do for disengaging the colony from the yoke of the proprietors, and putting it under the government of the King. Having thus fortified themselves by the union of the inhabitants, the Assembly met to take bolder and more decisive steps. Being apprehensive that the Governor would immediately dissolve them, they instantly came to the following resolutions. "Firstly: that the several laws* pretended to be repealed are still in force, and could not be repealed but by the General Assembly of the province: and that all public officers and others do pay due regard to the same accordingly. Secondly: that the writs whereby the present representatives were elected, are illegal, because they are signed by such a Council as the proprietors have not a power to appoint; for this Council consists of a greater number of members than that of the proprietors, which is contrary to the design and original intent of their charter. Thirdly: that the representatives cannot act as an Assembly, but as a convention delegated by the people to prevent the utter ruin of the province till His Majesty's pleasure be known." And lastly: "that the lords proprietors have by such proceedings unhinged the frame of their government and forfeited their rights to the same—and that an address be prepared to desire Governor Johnson to take the government upon him in the King's name—and to continue the administration thereof until his majesty's pleasure be known."

* The titles of the laws repealed by the proprietors, and adhered to by the Carolinians as unrepealed, were—

1st. An act for declaring the rights of the House of Commons, for the time being, to nominate a public receiver.

2d. An act entitled an act for laying an impost on negroes, liquors, and other goods and merchandize, &c.

3d. An act entitled an act to ascertain the form of electing members to represent the inhabitants in general assembly.

Agreeably to the last resolution, an address was drawn up and signed by Arthur Middleton, as President, and twenty-two members of the convention, to be presented to Johnson. In the meantime, the Governor sent a message to the house, acquainting them that he was ready, with his council, to receive and order them to choose a speaker. They came to the upper house in a body, and Arthur Middleton addressed him in the following words: "I am ordered by the representatives of the people, here present, to tell you that according to your honor's order, we are come to wait on you. I am further ordered to acquaint you that we own your honor as our Governor, you being approved by the King; and as there was once in this province a legal council representing the proprietors as their deputies, which constitution, being now altered, we do not look on the gentlemen present to be a legal Council; so I am ordered to tell you that the representatives of the people disown them as such, and will not act with them on any account."

The Governor and council, struck with astonishment at the spirit of the convention, and suspecting that they were supported by the people, were greatly puzzled while deliberating on the measures they should take to recall them to the obedience of legal authority. Some were for opposing violence to violence; and thought the best way of bringing them back to their allegiance, would be to terrify them with threats and confiscations. Others were of opinion that the defection was too general to admit of such a remedy, and that mild expostulations were more proper; and if such gentle means failed, the Governor might then dissolve them and put an end to the dispute. But on the other hand, dangers hung over the country; and the only fund for repairing the fortifications being lost by the repeal of the general act duty, it was necessary that money should be provided by some new law for public purposes. If the Governor dissolved the house, how could the province be put in a posture of defence against a Spanish invasion, with which it was threatened? If he should suffer them to sit while they had resolved that the proprietors had fortified their right to the government, and refused on any account to act with his council, he might be chargeable with a breach of his trust. The result of their deliberations was a message from the Governor and Council, desiring a conference with the House of Assembly. To which they returned for answer, that "they would not receive any message or paper from the Governor, in conjunction with the gentlemen he was pleased to call his Council." Finding them inflexible, and resolute, the Governor was obliged to give way to the current;

and therefore, in two days afterwards, sent for them in his own name, and delivered to them a long and elaborate speech, and furnished them with a written copy of it. In this he soothed the popular leaders—expostulated and reasoned with them—remonstrated against their measures—and attempted to alarm them and their followers with the consequences of their conduct; but all in vain. The Assembly was neither to be shaken by persuation, nor intimidated by threats. After a short pause, they returned with the following answer: "We have already acquainted you that we would not receive any message or paper from your honor, in conjunction with the gentlemen you are pleased to call your Council, therefore, we must now repeat the same; and beg leave to tell you, that the paper you read and delivered to us we take no notice of, nor shall we give any further answer to it but in Great Britain."

Immediately after, they came with an address to the Governor, avowing their resolution to cast off all obedience to the proprietary government; declaring him to be the most fit person to govern them—and entreating him to take upon him the government in the name of the King. This flattering address concluded in the following manner: "As the well-being and preservation of this province, depends greatly on your complying with our requests; so we flatter ourselves that you, who have expressed so tender regard for it on all occasions, and particularly in hazarding your person in an expedition against the pirates for its defence, we hope sir, that you will exert yourself at this time for its support; and we promise your honor on our parts, the most faithful assistance of persons duly sensible of your great goodness, and big with the hopes and expectation of his majesty's countenance and protection. And we further beg leave to assure your honor, that we will in the most dutiful manner address his sacred majesty, King George, for the continuance of your government over us; under whom we doubt not to be a happy people."

To this address the Governor replied: "I am obliged to you for your good opinion of me; but I hold my commission from the true and absolute lords and proprietors of this province, who recommended me to his majesty, and I have his approbation: it is by that commission and power I act, and I know of no authority which can dispossess me of the same but that of those who invested me with it. In subordination to them I shall always act, and, to my utmost, maintain their lordship's just power and prerogatives without encroaching on the people's rights. I do not expect or desire any favor from you, only that of seriously taking into consideration the ap-

proaching danger of a foreign enemy and the steps you are taking to involve yourselves, and this province, in anarchy and confusion."

The representatives having now fully declared their intentions, and finding it impossible to win over the Governor to a compliance with their measures, began to treat him with indifference and neglect. He, on the other hand, perceiving that neither harsh nor gentle means could recall them to their allegiance, issued a proclamation for dissolving the House. The representatives ordered his proclamation to be torn from the marshal's hands. They met upon their own authority, and choose Colonel James Moore their Governor, who was a man excellently qualified for being a popular leader in perilous adventures. To Governor Johnson he was no friend; having been by him removed from his command of the militia, for warmly espousing the cause of the people. In every new enterprise he had been a volunteer; and in all his undertakings was resolute, steady, and inflexible. A day was fixed for proclaiming him, in the name of the King, Governor of the province; and orders were issued for directing all officers, civil and military, to continue in th eir different places and employments till they should hear further from the convention.

Johnson some time before had appointed a day for a general review of the provincial militia, and the Convention fixed on the same day for publicly proclaiming Moore. The Governor having intelligence of their design, sent orders to Col. Parris the commander of the militia to postpone the review to a future day. Parris, though a zealous friend to the revolution, assured him his orders should be obeyed. Notwithstanding this assurance, on the day fixed when Governor Johnson came to town, he found, to his surprise, the militia drawn up in the market-square, now the site of the National Bank, colors flying at the forts and on board all the ships in the harbor; and great preparations making for the proclamation. Exasperated at the insults offered to his person and authority, he could not command his temper. Some he threatened to chastise for flying in the face of government, to which they had sworn fidelity; with others he coolly reasoned, and endeavored to recall them by representing the fatal consequence that would attend such rash proceedings. But advancing to Parris, he asked him "how he durst appear in arms contrary to his orders?" and commanded him in the King's name, instantly to disperse his men. Colonel Parris replied "he was obeying the orders of the Convention." The Governor in great rage walked up towards him, upon which Parris immediately commanded his militia to present their

muskets at him, and ordered him "to stand off at his peril." The Governor expected during this struggle that some friends, especially such as held offices of profit and trust under the proprietors, would have supported him, or that the militia would have laid down their arms at his command; but he was disappointed; for all either stood silent, or kept firm to the standard of the convention. Vain were the efforts of his single arm in opposition to so general a defection. Even Trott and Rhett in this extremity forsook him and kept at a distance, the silent and inactive spectators of their master's ruined authority.

After this the members of Convention, attended and escorted by the militia, publicly marched to the fort; and there proclaimed James Moore governor of the province in the name of the King, which was followed by the loudest acclamations of the populace. Upon their return they proceeded to the election of twelve counsellors, after the manner of the royal provinces. Of these Sir Hovenden Walker was made President. The revolutioners had now their Governor, Council and Convention, and all of their own free election. In consequence of which, the delegates published a declaration in which they justified the measures they had adopted; and pledged themselves to support the new Governor, and commanded all officers, civil and military, to pay him all duty and obedience.

After this declaration was solemnly published, Johnson retained but small hope of recalling the people to obey the proprietary authorities. Still, however, he flattered himself that the men who had usurped the government would not long remain in a state of union and peace. In this expectation he called together the civil officers of the proprietors, and ordered them to secure the public records, and shut up all offices against the revolutioners and their adherents.

In the meantime, the delegates of the people were occupied in regulating public affairs. They took a dislike to the name of Convention, as different from that of the other regal governments in America, and voted themselves an Assembly, and assumed the power of appointing all public officers. In place of Nicholas Trott, they made Richard Allein Chief Justice. Another person was appointed provincial secretary, in the room of Charles Hart. But William Rhett and Francis Yonge secured to themselves the same offices they held from the proprietors. Col. John Barnwell was chosen agent for the province, and embarked for England with instructions and orders to apply to the king, and lay a state of their public proceedings before him, and to beseech his majesty to take the province under his immediate care and protection. A new duty

law for raising money to defray the various expenses of government was passed. Orders were given for the immediate repairs of the fortifications at Charlestown; and William Rhett was nominated inspector-general of the projected repairs. To their new Governor they voted two thousand five hundred pounds, and to their Chief Justice eight hundred pounds current money, as yearly salaries. To their agent in England they transmitted one thousand pounds sterling. To defray these and the other expenses of government, an act was passed for laying a tax on lands and negroes, to raise thirty thousand pounds Carolina money, for the service of the current year.

When they began to levy the taxes imposed by this act, Johnson and some of his party refused to pay; giving for reason that the act was not made by lawful authority. On account of his particular circumstances, Johnson was excused; but they resolved to compel every other person to submit to their jurisdiction, and obey their laws. They seized the effects or negroes of such as refused—sold them at public auction—and applied the money for the payment of their taxes. Thus in spite of all opposition, they established themselves in the full possession of all the powers of government.

In the meantime Johnson received certain advice that the Spaniards had sailed from the Havanna, with a fleet of fourteen ships and a force consisting of twelve hundred men, against South Carolina and Providence, and it was uncertain which of the two they would first attack. At this time of imminent danger, the late Governor endeavored to recall the people to subjection; and sent to the Convention a letter, in which he attempted to alarm them by representing the dangerous consequences of military operations under unlawful authority; but they remained firm to their purpose, and, without taking any notice of the letter, contined to do business with Moore as they had begun; and in concert with him, adopted measures for the public security. They proclaimed martial law, and ordered the inhabitants of the province to Charlestown for its defence. All the officers of the militia accepted their commissions from Moore, and engaged to stand by him against all foreign enemies. For two weeks the provincial militia were kept under arms at Charlestown, every day expecting the appearance of the Spanish fleet which they were informed had sailed from the Havanna. The Spaniards resolved first to attack Providence, and then to proceed against Carolina; but by the conduct and courage of captain Rogers, at that time governor of the island, they were repulsed, and soon after lost the greatest part of their fleet in a storm.

The Spanish expedition having thus proved abortive, the

Flamborough man-of-war, commanded by Captain Kildesley, returned from Providence island to her station at Charlestown. About the same time his majesty's ship Phœnix, commanded by Captain Pierce, arrived from a cruise. The commanders of these two men-of-war were caressed by both parties; but they publicly declared for Johnson, as the magistrate invested with legal authority. Charles Hart, secretary of the province, by orders from Governor Johnson and his Council, had secreted and secured the public records so that the revolutioners could not obtain possession of them. The clergy refused to marry without a license from Johnson, as the only legal ordinary of the province. These and other inconveniences, from the unsettled state of things, rendered several of the people more cool in their affection for the popular government. At this juncture, Johnson, with the assistance of the captains and crews of the ships of war, made his last and boldest effort for subjecting the colonists to his authority. He brought up the ships-of-war in front of Charlestown, and threatened its immediate destruction, if the inhabitants any longer refused obedience to legal authority. But they having arms in their hands, and forts in their possession, defied his power. They were neither to be won by flattery, nor terrified by threats, to submit their necks any more to the proprietary yoke. Johnson feeling his impotence, made no more attempts for the recovery of his lost authority.

In the meantime, the agent for Carolina had procured a hearing from the lords of the regency and council in England, the King being at that time in Hanover; who gave it as their opinion that the proprietors had forfeited their charter, and ordered the attorney general to take out a *scire facias* against it.

An act of parliament was passed in Britain for establishing an agreement with seven of the eight proprietors for a surrender to the King of their right and interest not only in the government, but in the soil of the province. The purchase was made for 17,500 sterling. At the same time seven-eighths of the arrears of the quit-rents due from the colonists to the proprietors were purchased on behalf of the crown for £5,000. The remaining eighth share of the province and of the arrears of quit-rents were reserved out of the purchase by a clause in the act of parliament, for John, Lord Cartaret. About the same time the province was subdivided by the name of North and South Carolina.

Upon a review of these transactions, we may observe: that although the conduct of the Carolinians, during this struggle, cannot be deemed conformable to the strict letter of the written law, yet necessity and self-preservation justify their con-

duct; while all the world must applaud their moderation, union, firmness, and wisdom. When the proprietors first applied to the King for a grant of this large territory, at that time occupied by heathens, they said they were excited thereto by their zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith; yet they used no effectual endeavors for that purpose. The society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts employed and supported missionaries for the conversion of the heathens; but their best endeavors were inadequate to the extent of the work. The proprietors by their charter were empowered to build churches and chapels within the bounds of their province, for divine worship; yet they left the burden of this entirely to the inhabitants, who received no encouragement or assistance towards its accomplishment, except from the society incorporated for the propagation of the gospel. The proprietors were empowered by their charter to erect castles and forts for the protection and defence of the colony, but the people were obliged to raise all these at their own expense. By the charter his majesty saved to himself, his heirs and successors, the sovereign dominion of the province; yet the proprietors assumed to themselves a despotic authority in repealing and abrogating laws made by the Assembly and ratified by their deputies in Carolina. They not only tyrannized over the colony, but employed and protected officers ten times more tyrannical than themselves. When the whole Legislature complained of Chief Justice Trott, they paid no regard to their complaints, and absolutely refused to remove him from the bench, or even to limit his jurisdiction. In times of imminent danger, when the colony applied to them for assistance, they were either unable or unwilling to bear the expense of its protection. When the Assembly allotted the lands obtained by conquest from the Yamassee Indians, for the encouragement of settlers to strengthen the provincial frontiers, the proprietors claimed the sole right of disposing of these lands, and frustrated a judicious plan for preserving public security. When the trade of the province was infested by pirates, the inhabitants could neither obtain a force sufficient to extirpate them, nor a confirmation of their laws made for defraying the expense of such expeditions as the Assembly had fitted out against them. The proprietors, at the request of the London merchants had cried down the current money of the province, stamped for answering the public exigencies. The people saw no end of their troubles. Pressing distress dictated the necessity of some remedy. No expedient appeared to them so proper and effectual as that of throwing themselves under the immediate care and protection of the crown of Great Britain. Disgusted with the feeble proprietary Government, they,

therefore, by one bold and irregular effort, entirely shook it off; and a revolution fruitful of happy consequences resulted, to their great relief and unspeakable satisfaction.

From the first settlement of the colony, one perpetual struggle subsisted between the proprietors of the province and the cultivators of its soil. A division somewhat similar to that of the court and country parties in England early sprung up in the settlement, and kept it in continual agitation. The people considered the proprietary claims of power as inconsistent with their rights; hence they became turbulent, and were seldom satisfied with their Governors in their public capacity, however esteemed and beloved as private men. The hands of Government were always weak, and the instructions and regulations received from England were for the most part ill adapted to the local circumstances of the people and the first state of colonization. The great distance and complicated hardships of the Carolinians all concurred to render their revolutionary measures not only excusable, but necessary. The revolution in England had exemplified and confirmed the doctrine of resistance, when the executive magistrate violates the fundamental laws and subverts the constitution of the nation. The proprietors had done acts which, in the opinion of the lords in regency, amounted to a forfeiture of their charter; and they had ordered a writ of *scire facias* to be taken out for repealing their patent and rendering the grant void. By these means all political connections between the proprietors and people of Carolina was entirely dissolved, and a new relation formed; the King having taken the provinces under his immediate care and made it a part of the British Empire.

In the forty-nine years of the proprietary Government of South Carolina, there were twenty-three Governors.* To this office Joseph West was thrice appointed; and Joseph Morton and Joseph Blake, each twice. Joseph West was the only one who served as long as eight years. James Colleton and Seth Sothell were disgraced by the people, and Robert Johnson was deposed by the same authority.

Of the several proprietary governments in British America, few or none have answered. Too often have they been undertaken and carried on with the contracted views of land-job-

* These were as follows: William Sayle, commissioned in England, 26th July, 1669; Joseph West, 28th August, 1671; Sir John Yeamans, 26th December, 1671; Joseph West, second time, 13th August, 1674; Joseph Morton, 26th September, 1682; Joseph West, third time, 6th September, 1684; Sir Richard Kirle, unknown; Colonel Robert Quarry, do.; Joseph Morton, second time, 1685; James Colleton, 1686; Seth Sothell, 1690; Philip Ludwell, 1692; Thomas Smith, 1693; Joseph Blake, 1694; John Archdale, 1695; Joseph Blake, second time, 1696; James Moore, 1700; Sir Nathaniel Johnson, 1703; Edward Tynte, December, 1709; Robert Gibbes, 1710; Charles Craven, 1712; Robert Daniel, 1716; Robert Johnson, 1717—deposed in December, 1719.

bers. To propagate the gospel among the native heathens was generally the ostensible design; but to make money by the sale or rents of lands rising in value from the introduction of settlers, was for the most part the governing motive of private proprietors. To obtain a great income, from a small expenditure, was the leading object of their policy. They were therefore slow in defending and protecting their tenants. The subjects of subjects often fare worse than the subjects of Kings. Between limited monarchy and representative government, there seems to be no middle ground for political happiness.

In the course of the 18th century, South Carolina underwent two revolutions, the last of which took place in 1776. Several of the actors in this are yet alive, and must be struck with the resemblance of the measures adopted by their predecessors and themselves for accomplishing these great and similar events. In both cases, a well-intentioned people, alarmed for their rights, were roused to extraordinary exertions for securing them. They petitioned, in a legal channel, for a redress of their grievances; but that being refused, they proceeded to bolder measures. Before they took decisive steps from which there was no honorable retreat, they both cemented their union by an association generally signed by the inhabitants. The physical force of government in all countries rests with the governed; but from the want of union and concert, they often quietly submit to be ruled with a rod of iron, or make such feeble, injudicious efforts in the cause of liberty as incur the penalties of rebellion, instead of gaining the blessings of a change for the better. The case was otherwise in Carolina. In both revolutions, an honest people engaged by a solemn agreement to support each other in defence of their rights, and to yield obedience to the leaders of their own appointment. When they had bound themselves by the tie of an association, they seized their arms, took the forts and magazines into possession, and assumed the direction of the militia. A new government, without confusion or violence, virtually superseded the existing authority of the proprietary Governor in one case, and of the King's representative in the other. The revolutioners in both respectfully asked their former Governors to join them; but from principles of honor and delicacy they declined. On their refusal they became private persons, and the people proceeded without them to organize every department of Government by their own authority. The popular leaders in one case called themselves a Convention of the people, and in the other a Provincial Congress; but in both, when the revolution was completed, they voted themselves an Assembly, passed laws in the usual manner, and by manifestoes justified their conduct to the world.

In these proceedings neither party nor faction had any hand. The general interests of the great body of the settlers, were the pole star by which public measures were regulated. The people, guided neither by private views nor selfish ends, and acting in unison, eventually found their labors crowned with success; and that each change of government produced for their country a melioration of its circumstances. A whole generation passed away, and a new one sprung up in the interval, between these two revolutions, though only fifty-seven years distant. No individual has been recognized as an actor in both. But the name of Middleton was conspicuous in the first, and more so in the last. Arthur Middleton was President of the Convention of the People in 1719; his son, Henry Middleton, President of the Congress of the United Colonies in 1774; and his grandson, Arthur Middleton, was one of the subscribers to the famous Declaration of Independence in 1776, by which South Carolina became a sovereign State.

The proprietary Government of Carolina may be termed its infancy. When it ceased in 1719, St. Stephen's was the frontier of the province. Forts were erected there in St. John's, on Colonel Glaze's land, near Dorchester, Dorchester, Wiltown, and other places about the same distance from the coast; and were necessary to defend the settlers from the Indians. The former rarely ventured fifty miles from the Atlantic. The latter occupied what is now called the upper and middle country of Carolina, and were very troublesome neighbors. Their distressing incursions occasionally penetrated as low as Goose creek. Charlestown was not perfectly safe, for it was exposed to danger both from them and the Spaniards. As much of it as lies between the Central Market and Water street, the Bay, and Meeting street, was fortified both on the land and water side. Much of that part of it which lay to the west of Meeting street, and the north and south of Broad street, was either a forest, or laid out in farms, gardens, orange-groves or orchards, with here and there a straggling house. Peltry or lumber, with a little rice, were the only exports of the province. The planters were better satisfied with a dollar per hundred for the last article, than they have been for years past with three. The coast was infested with pirates, and they made several captures near the bar of Charlestown. There were incessant contentions between the inhabitants and the proprietors; great dissensions between the Episcopalians and Dissenters, and for several years bitter animosities between the French refugees and English settlers. There was very little real money in the province. The planters were clamorous for bills of credit, and the merchants and others very much

opposed to their increase and protracted circulation. The police of the country was without energy. Demagogues endeavored to gain popularity by flattering the people, while others were equally active in courting the favor of the proprietors by personal attentions, and by vindicating their claims. The real good of the people was a secondary object with both. The government was not administered for the benefit of the governed. The latter were dissatisfied, and by a judicious exertion of their inherent rights, obtained a change for the better.

CIVIL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHAPTER IV.

Royal Government from 1720 *to* 1776.

The form of government conferred on Carolina when it became a royal province, was formed on the model of the British Constitution. It consisted of a Governor, a Council and Assembly. To them the power of making laws was committed. The King appointed the Governor, and delegated to him his constitutional powers. The Council was appointed by the King to advise the Governor, and to assist in legislation; and was intended to represent the House of Lords. The Assembly, like the House of Commons in Great Britain, consisted of the representatives of the people; and was elected by them to be the guardians of their lives, liberties, and property. The Governor convened, prorogued, and dissolved the Assembly, and had a negative on the bills of both houses and the execution of the laws. He also had powers of chancery, admiralty, of supreme ordinary, and of appointing magistrates and militia officers. After bills received his assent they were sent to Great Britain for royal approbation. But were obligatory as laws in the meantime, unless they were passed with a saving clause. The Governor received his instructions from England, and it was his duty to transmit authentic accounts of the state of his province, that these instructions might be founded in truth and utility. This is a general sketch of the royal government given to the privince of Carolina, in lieu of the proprietary system. The change soon appeared to be for the better.

Early in 1721 General Francis Nicholson arrived in South Carolina, with a royal commission to be Governor. He was generous, bold, and steady. Possessing the firmness, integrity

and honor of a soldier, he was well qualified for discharging the duties of his exalted station. The people received him with uncommon demonstrations of joy. The voice of murmur and discontent, together with the fears of danger and oppression, were banished from the province. The people resolved to forget former animosities, and to bury past offences in eternal oblivion. The only contention was who should be the most zealous in promoting the union, peace, and prosperity of the settlement. They looked upon themselves as happily delivered from a confused and distracted state; and anticipated all the blessings of freedom and security.

Soon after his arrival, Governor Nicholson issued writs for the election of a new Assembly. The persons returned as members entered with great temper and cheerfulness on the regulation of provincial affairs. They choose James Moore, their late popular Governor, to be Speaker of the House; and their choice was confirmed by the King's representative. The first business they engaged in was to pass an act declaring, that they recognized and acknowledged his sacred majesty, King George, to be the rightful sovereign of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and of all the dominions and provinces belonging to the empire; and in particular his undoubted right to the province of Carolina. All actions and suits at law, commenced on account of the late administration of James Moore by particular persons, were declared void; but all judicial proceedings under the same administration, were confirmed. These acts were judged proper and necessary for estabishing harmony among the inhabitants. Nicholson had the address to unite all parties; and by the wisdom and equity of his administration, to render the whole community happy under their new government and highly pleased with the change. Though he was bred a soldier, and was profane and passionate, yet he was not insensible of the great advantage of religion to society and contributed not a little to its interest in Carolina. On his application to the Society in England for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, they sent out teachers, money, and books, for the instruction of the inhabitants, and also supplied the province with clergymen; and gave each of them a yearly allowance, over and above the provincial salary. He also, with great zeal, urged the usefulness, and necessity, of provincial establishments for the promotion of literature.

Governor Nicholson, who was well acquainted with the manners of savages, applied himself with great zeal to regulate Indian affairs, and to form treaties of friendship with the different tribes around the settlement. As most of the broils between the settlers and the Indians had been occasioned by by the former taking unauthorized possession of lands claimed

by the latter, to prevent future quarrels from that source, he sent a message to the Cherokees, a numerous and warlike nation, acquainting them that he had presents to make them and would meet them at the borders of their territories, to hold a general congress, to treat of mutual friendship and commerce. They rejoiced at a proposal which implied they were a free people, and immediately the chiefs of thirty-seven different towns set out to meet him.

At this congress the Governor gave them several presents—smoked the pipe of peace—and afterwards marked the boundaries of the lands between them and the English settlers. He also regulated all weights and measures, that justice might be done them in the way of traffic—appointed an agent to superintend their affairs, and proposed to nominate one warrior as commander-in-chief of the whole nation, before whom all complaints were to be made, and who was to acquaint the Governor with every injury done them. After which the Indians returned to their towns, highly pleased with their generous brother and new ally. The Governor then proceeded to conclude a treaty of commerce and peace with the Creeks, who were also at that time a numerous and formidable nation. He likewise appointed an agent to reside among them, whose business was to regulate Indian affairs in a friendly and equitable manner, and he fixed on Savannah river as the boundary of their hunting lands, beyond which, no settlements were to extend.

The policy respecting Indians had hitherto proceeded on the idea of peace and commerce with independent neighbors, and seemed to have little more in view than a share in their superfluous lands and the tranquility of the English settlements; but about this time the projects of the French, for uniting Canada and Louisiana, began to be developed. They had extended themselves northwardly from the Gulf of Mexico, and eastwardly from the upper parts of the river Mississippi, and had made many friends among the Indians to the southward and westward of Carolina. To counteract the views of the French, Great Britain wished to convert the Indians, on her borders, into allies or subjects. Treaties of union and alliance with them were therefore deemed proper and necessary. For this purpose Sir Alexander Cumming was appointed and sent out to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Cherokees. These Indians occupied the lands about the head of Savannah river, and backwards among the Apalachian mountains. The country they claimed as their hunting ground was of immense extent. The inhabitants of their different towns, were computed to amount to more than twenty thousand. Of these, six thousand were warriors,

fit on any emergency to take the field. An alliance with such a nation was an object of the highest consequence, both to Carolina and the mother country; the latter of which was now engaged for the defence and protection of the former.

About the beginning of the year 1730, Sir Alexander Cumming arrived in Carolina and made preparations for his journey to the distant hills. When he reached Keowee, about 300 miles from Charlestown, the chiefs of the lower towns met and received him with marks of friendship and esteem. He immediately despatched messengers to the middle, the valley, and overhill settlements; and summoned a general meeting of all their chiefs to hold a congress with him at Nequasee. In the month of April the chief warriors of all the Cherokee towns assembled at the place appointed. After the various Indian ceremonies were over, Sir Alexander made a speech to them; acquainting them by whose authority he was sent, and representing the great power, and goodness, of his sovereign King George: how he and all his other subjects paid a cheerful obedience to his laws, and of course were protected by him from all harm: that he had come a great way to demand of Moytoy, and all the chieftains of the nation, to acknowledge themselves the subjects of his King, and to promise obedience to his authority; and as he loved them, and was answerable to his sovereign for their good and peaceable behavior, he hoped they would agree to what he should now require of them. Upon which, the chiefs falling on their knees, solemnly promised fidelity and obedience, calling upon all that was terrible to fall upon them if they violated their promise. Sir Alexander then, by their unanimous consent, nominated Moytoy commander and chief of the Cherokee nation, and enjoined all the warriors, of the different tribes to acknowledge him as their King to whom they were to be accountable for their conduct. To this they also agreed, provided Moytoy should be made answerable to Sir Alexander for his behavior to them. After which, many presents were made to them, and the congress ended to the satisfaction of both parties. The crown was brought from Tenassee, their chief town, which, with five eagle tails and four scalps of their enemies, Moytoy presented to Sir Alexander, requesting him, on his arrival at Britain, to lay them at his majesty's feet. But Sir Alexander proposed to Moytoy that he should depute some of their chiefs to accompany him to England, there to do homage in person to the great King. Six of them agreed and accompanied Sir Alexander to Charlestown, where, being joined by another, they embarked for England.

Being admitted into the presence of the King they, in the name of their nation, promised to continue forever his maj-

esty's faithful and obedient subjects. A treaty* was accordingly drawn up and signed by Alured Popple, Secretary to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations on one side, and by the marks of the Indian chiefs on the other. The Cherokees, in consequence of this treaty, for many years remained in a state of perfect friendship and peace with the colonists, who followed their various employments in the neighborhood of these Indians without the least terror or molestation.

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* The preamble to this treaty recites "That, whereas, the six Chiefs, with the consent of the whole nation of Cherokees, at a general meeting of their nation at Nequassee, were deputed by Moytoy, their chief warrior, to attend Sir Alexander Cumming to Great Britain, where they had seen the great King George: and Sir Alexander, by authority from Moytoy and all the Cherokees, had laid down the crown of their nation, with the scalps of their enemies and feathers of glory at his majesty's feet, as a pledge of their loyalty. And, whereas, the great King had commanded the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, to inform the Indians that the English on all sides of the mountains and lakes, were his people, their friends, his friends, and their enemies, his enemies—that he took it kindly the great nation of Cherokees had sent them so far to brighten the chain of friendship between him and them, and between his people and their people; that the chain of friendship between him and the Cherokees is now like the sun which shines both in Britain and also upon the great mountains where they live, and equally warms the hearts of Indians and Englishmen; that as there is no spots or blackness in the sun, so neither is there any rust or foulness on this chain. And as the King has fastened one end to his breast, he desired them to carry the other end of the chain and fasten it to the breast of Moytoy of Telliquo, and to the breasts of all their old wise men, their captains and people, never more to be made loose or broken.

The great King and the Cherokees being thus fastened together by a chain of friendship, he has ordered, and it is agreed, that his children in Carolina do trade with the Indians, and furnish them with all manner of goods they want, and to make haste to build houses and plant corn from Charlestown towards the towns of the Cherokees behind the great mountains. That he desires the English and Indians may live togeth . as children of one family; that the Cherokees be always ready to fight against any nation, whether white men or Indians, who shall dare molest or hurt the English—that the nation of Cherokees shall, on their part, take care to keep the trading path clean—that there be no blood on the path where the English tread, even though they should be accompanied with other people with whom the Cherokees may be at war. That the Cherokees shall not suffer their people to trade with white men of any other nation but the English, nor permit white men of any other nation to build any forts or cabins, or plant any corn among them upon lands which belong to the great King; and if any such attempt shall be made, the Cherokees must acquaint the English Governor therewith, and do whatever he directs, in order to maintain and defend the great King's right to the country of Carolina. That if any negroes shall run away into the woods from their English masters, the Cherokees shall endeavor to apprehend them and bring them to the plantation from whence they run away, or to the Governor, and for every slave so apprehended and brought back, the Indian that brings him shall receive a gun and a watch-coat; and if by any accident, it shall happen that an Englishman shall kill a Cherokee, the king or chief of the nation shall first complain to the English Governor, and the man who did the harm shall be punished by the English laws as if he had killed an Englishman; and in like manner if any Indian happens to kill an Englishman, the Indian shall be delivered up to the Governor, to be punished by the same English laws as if he were an Englishman."

This was the substance of the first treaty between the King and the Cherokees, every article of which was accompanied with presents. A speech was at the same time addressed to the Indians, in which they were informed "that these were the words of the great King whom they had seen; and as a token that his heart was open and true to his children the Cherokees, and to all their people, a belt was given the warriors, which, they were told, the King desired them to keep

About the beginning of the year 1731, Robert Johnson, who had been proprietary Governor of Carolina, arrived with a commission, investing him with a similar office in behalf of the crown. He brought back these Indian chiefs, possessed with the highest ideas of the power and greatness of the English nation, and pleased with the kind and generous treatment they had received.

This new Governor, from his knowledge of the province, was well qualified for his high office; and had a council to assist him, composed of the most influential inhabitants. Thomas Broughton was appointed Lieutenant Governor, and Robert Wright, Chief Justice. The other members of the Council were William Bull, James Kinlock, Alexander Skene, John Fenwicke, Arthur Middleton, Joseph Wragg, Francis Yonge, John Hamerton and Thomas Waring.

Mr. Johnson had acted with great spirit in opposing the Carolinians in 1719, when they threw off the proprietary government; but they had liberality enough to consider him as having acted solely from a sense of duty and honor. He was not only well received in his new office, but the Assembly honored him after his death by erecting a handsome monument to his memory in St. Philip's church, highly applauding his administration.

For the encouragement of the people, now connected with the mother country, several favors were granted them. The restraint upon rice, an enumerated commodity, was partly

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and show to all their people, to their children, and children's children, to confirm what was now spoken, and to bind this agreement of peace and friendship between the English and Cherokees as long as the rivers shall run, the mountains shall last, or the sun shall shine."

In answer to which Skijagustah, in name of the rest, made a speech to the following effect: "We are come hither from a mountainous place, where nothing but darkness is to be found—but we are now in a place where there is light. We look upon you as if the great King were present—we love you as representing the great King—we shall die in the same way of thinking—the crown of our nation is different from that which the great King George wears, and from that we saw in the tower, but to us it is all one—the chain of friendship shall be carried to our people—we look upon the great King George as the sun and as our father, and upon ourselves as his children; for though we are red and you are white, yet our hands and hearts are joined together. When we shall have acquainted our people with what we have seen, our children from generation to generation will always remember it. In war we shall always be one with you—the enemies of the great King shall be our enemies—his people and ours shall be one, and shall die together. We came hither naked and poor as the worms of the earth; but you have every thing, and we that have nothing must love you, and will never break the chain of friendship which is between us. This small rope we show you is all that we have to bind our slaves with, and it may be broken, but you have iron chains for yours—however, if we catch your slaves, we will bind them as well as we can, and deliver them to our friends and take no pay for it. Your white people may very safely build houses near us; we shall hurt nothing that belongs to them, for we are children of one father, the great King, and shall live and die together." Then laying down his feathers upon the table, he added: "This is our way of talking, which is the same thing to us as your letters in the book are to you, and to you, beloved men, we deliver these feathers in confirmation of all we have said."

taken off; and that it might arrive more seasonably and in better condition at market, the colonists were permitted to send it directly to any port southward of Cape Finisterre. A bounty on hemp was also allowed by parliament. The arrears of quit-rents, bought from the proprietors, were remitted by the liberality of the crown. For the benefit of trade, their bills of credit were continued, and seventy-seven thousand pounds were stamped and issued by virtue of an act of the Legislature, called the appropriation law. Seventy pieces of cannon were sent out by the King; and the Governor had instructions to build one fort at Port Royal, and another on the river Alatamaha. An independent company of foot was allowed for their defence by land, and ships of war were stationed on the coast for the protection of trade. From these and several other benefits conferred on the colony, it soon began to emerge from the depths of poverty, and rapidly rose to a state of ease and affluence.

As a natural consequence of its domestic security the credit of the province, in England, increased. The merchants of London, Bristol and Liverpool, turned their eyes to Carolina as a new and promising channel of trade; and established houses in Charlestown for conducting their business with the planters, and poured in slaves for cultivating their lands, and manufactures for supplying their plantations, and furnished them with both on credit and at a cheap rate. With this increased force, the lands were cleared and cultivated with greater facility. The lands rose in value, and men of foresight and judgment began to look out and secure the rich spots for themselves. The produce of the province in a few years was doubled. From this period, its exports kept pace with the imports, and secured its credit in England.

Hitherto, Carolina had made small progress in cultivation. The face of the country appeared like a desert, with little spots here and there cleared. The colonists were slovenly farmers, owing to the vast quantities of lands and the easy and cheap terms of obtaining them. They were more indebted for a good crop to the natural richness of the soil, than to their own culture and management. They had abundance of the necessaries and several of the conveniences of life. But their habitations were clumsy, miserable wooden huts. Charlestown, at this time, consisted of between five and six hundred houses, mostly built of timber, and neither comfortable nor well constructed. Henceforward the province improved in building as well as in other respects. Many ingenious artificers and tradesmen of different kinds, found encouragement in it, and introduced a taste for brick buildings, and more neat and pleasant habitations. As the colony increased, the

face of the country exhibited an appearance of industry and plenty.

For the farther security of Carolina, the settlement of a new colony between the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah was, about the year 1732, projected in England. This large territory lay waste without any civilized inhabitants. The new province was called Georgia in honor of the King, who greatly encouraged the undertaking.

While the security of Carolina against external enemies, by this settlement of Georgia, engaged the attention of the British government, the means of its internal improvement and population were not neglected.

John Peter Pury, of Neufchatel in Switzerland, having formed a design of leaving his native country, paid a visit to Carolina, in order to inform himself of the circumstances and situation of the province. After viewing the lands he returned to Britain. The government entered into a contract with him, and agreed to give lands and four hundred pounds sterling for every hundred effective men he should transport from Switzerland to Carolina. Pury having drawn up a flattering account of the soil and climate,* and of the excellence and freedom of the provincial government, returned to Switzerland and published it among the people. Immediately one hundred and seventy Switzers agreed to follow him, and were transported to the fertile and delightful province as he described it. Not long afterwards two hundred more came and joined them. The Governor, agreeably to instructions, allowed forty thousand acres of land for the use of the Swiss settlement on the northeast side of Savannah river; and a town was marked out for their accommodation, which was called Purysburg, from the name of the principal promoter of the settlement. Mr. Bignion, a Swiss minister, whom they had engaged to go with them, having received Episcopal ordination from the Bishop of London, settled among them for their religious instruction. The Governor and Council, happy in the acquisition of such a force, allotted to each of them his separate tract of land and gave every encouragement in their power to the people. The Swiss emigrants began their labors with uncommon zeal and energy; highly elevated with the idea of possessing landed estates. But in a short time they felt the many inconveniences attending a change of climate. Several of them sickened and died, and others found the hardships of the first state of colonization

* This may be found in Anderson's History of Commerce. It proceeds on the idea that countries lying in the 32d degree of North latitude, (the site of Palestine and of South Carolina,) are remarkable for their fertility; the production of the most valuable commodities, and other good qualities.

much greater than they expected. They became discontented. Smarting under the pressure of indigence and disappointment, they not only blamed Pury for deceiving them, but repented their leaving their native country.

According to a new plan, adopted in England, for the more speedy population and settlement of the province, the Governor had instructions to mark out eleven townships in square plats on the sides of rivers consisting each of twenty thousand acres; and to divide the land within them into shares of fifty acres for each man, woman, and child that should come to occupy and improve them. Each township was to form a parish, and all the inhabitants were to have an equal right to the river. So soon as the parish should increase to the number of an hundred families they were to have a right to send two members, of their own election, to the Assembly and to enjoy the same privileges as the other parishes already established. Each settler was to pay four shillings a year for every hundred acres of land, except the first ten years; during which term they were to be rent free. Accordingly ten townships were marked out; two on river Alatamaha, two on Savannah, two on Santee, one on Pedee, one on Wacamaw, one on Wateree, and one on Black river.

By this time accounts of the great privileges granted by the Crown, for the encouragement of settlers in the province had been published through Britain and Ireland; and many industrious people had resolved to take the benefit of the royal bounty. Multitudes of laborers and husbandmen in Ireland oppressed, by landlords and bishops, and unable to procure a comfortable subsistence for their families, embarked for Carolina. The first colony of Irish people had lands granted to them; and about the year 1734 formed the settlement called Williamsburg township. But notwithstanding the bounty of the Crown they remained for several years in low and distressing circumstances. The climate proved fatal to numbers of them. In consequence of hard labor and scanty provisions at the commencement of the settlement a considerable number, debilitated in body and dejected in spirits, sickened and died. But as this township received frequent supplies from the same quarter, the Irish settlers amidst every hardship increased in number. Having obtained credit with the merchants for negroes they were relieved from the severest part of their labor. By this aid, and their own industry, spots of land were cleared, which in a short period yielded them plenty of provisions and in time became fruitful estates.

In proportion as Carolina flourished and extended, the Spaniards of Florida became more troublesome. At this time

there were about forty thousand negroes in the province. Long had liberty and protection been promised and proclaimed to them by the Spaniards at St. Augustine. At different times Spanish emissaries had been found secretly persuading them to fly from their masters to Florida, and several had made their escape to that settlement. Of these negro refugees, the Governor of Florida formed a regiment, appointed officers from among themselves, allowed them the same pay, and clothed them in the same uniform with the regular Spanish soldiers. The most sensible part of the slaves in Carolina, were not ignorant of this Spanish regiment, for when they ran away, they constantly directed their course to that quarter.

While Carolina was kept in a state of constant fear, an insurrection, which alarmed the whole province, broke out in the heart of the settlement. In the year 1740 a number of negroes having assembled together at Stono, surprised and killed two young men in a warehouse and then plundered it of guns and ammunition. Being thus provided with arms, they elected one of their number captain, put themselves under his command, and marched towards the southwest with colors flying and drums beating. They forcibly entered the house of Mr. Godfrey, and having murdered him, his wife and children, they took all the arms he had in it, set fire to the house, and proceeded towards Jacksonborough. In their way they plundered and burnt every house, killed the white people, and compelled the negroes to join them. Governor Bull, returning to Charlestown from the southward met them, and observing them armed, quickly rode out of their way. He crossed over to Johns Island, and from thence came to Charlestown with the first intelligence. Mr. Golightly in like manner met the armed black insurgents, and rode out of their way; but went directly to the Presbyterian church at Wiltown, and gave the alarm. By a law of the province, all planters were obliged to carry their arms to church. Mr. Golightly joined the armed men, thus providentially assembled, and proceeded with them directly from the church, to engage the negroes about eight miles distant. The women were left trembling with fear, while the militia under the command of Captain Bee, marched in quest of the negroes, who by this time, had become formidable from the number that joined them. They had marched above fifteen miles, and spread desolation through all the plantations in their way. Having found rum in some houses and drank freely of it, they halted in an open field and began to sing and dance by way of triumph. During these rejoicings, the militia came up and stationed themselves in different places to prevent their escape. The intoxication of several of the slaves, favored the assailants. One party ad-

vanced into the open field and attacked them.* Having killed some negroes, the remainder took to the woods, and were dispersed. Many ran back to their plantations, in hopes of escaping suspicion from the absence of their masters; but the greater part were taken and tried. Such as had been compelled to join, contrary to their inclinations, were pardoned; but the leaders and first insurgents suffered death.

All Carolina was struck with consternation by this insurrection, in which about twenty persons were murdered, and had not the people in that quarter been armed and collected at church, it is probable many more would have suffered. It was commonly believed, and not without reason, that the Spaniards, by their secret influence and intrigues with slaves had instigated them to this massacre. To prevent further attempts Governor Bull sent an express to General Oglethorpe, with advice of the insurrection, desiring him to double his vigilance in Georgia and seize all straggling Spaniards and negroes. At the same time a company of rangers were employed to patrol the frontiers, and block up all passages by which they might make their escape to Florida.

About this time, November 18th, 1740, nearly one-half of Charlestown was consumed by fire. It began about two o'clock P. M., and continued until eight. The houses being built of wood, and the wind blowing hard at northwest, the flames spread with astonishing rapidity. From the south side of Broad street to Granville's Bastion, almost every house was at one time in flames except the north side of Broad street and the north end of the Bay; the trading part of the town, was nearly destroyed. The rum, pitch, tar, turpentine, and gunpowder, in the different stores, served to spread the desolating element. A violent wind carried the burning shingles to a great distance. While floating in the air they added to the horrow of the scene, and falling on remote houses, excited new conflagrations rivalling the first. The cries of children and the shrieks of women propagated a general alarm. The anxiety of each individual for his own connections, prevented united exertions for common safety; while flames bursting forth from different quarters at the same time, nearly induced despair of saving any part of the town. The fire continued to spread desolation, until the calmness of the evening closed the

* The militia attacked the negroes just as they had dined, and were preparing to move off. They had a few minutes before fired the dwelling house at a plantation which has been ever since called "Battlefield." As soon as they discovered the white people, their black captain, named Cato, who had two loaded guns, immediately discharged one, and as he stooped to get the other, was shot down. After this, the survivors made but little resistance, scattered, and endeavored to escape. The fire in the house was extinguished, after burning a hole in the floor. This was suffered to remain open for many years, as a memorial of the transaction.

dreadful scene. Three hundred of the best buildings were consumed, which, together with loss of goods and country commodities, amounted to a prodigious sum. Few lives were lost, but the lamentations of ruined families were heard in every quarter. From a flourishing condition, the town was reduced in the space of six hours to a most deplorable state. The inhabitants, whose houses escaped the flames, kindly invited their unfortunate neighbors to them, so that two or three families were lodged in places built only for the accommodation of one. After the legislature met they agreed to make application to the British parliament for relief. It voted twenty thousand pounds sterling, to be distributed among the sufferers. This relief was seasonable and useful on the one side, and displayed a generous and noble spirit on the other.

Since the province was taken under the royal care, it was nursed and protected by a rich and powerful nation. Its government was staple, private property secure, and the privileges of the people extensive. The planters obtained lands from the King at a cheap rate. The mother country furnished laborers upon credit; each person had entire liberty to manage his affairs for his own profit and advantage, and having no tythes and very trifling taxes to pay, reaped almost the whole fruits of his industry. He obtained British manufactures at an easy rate, and drawbacks were allowed on articles of foreign manufacture that they might be brought cheaper to the American market. Frugal industrious planters, every three or four years, doubled their capital and their progress towards independence and opulence was rapid.

The plan of settling townships, especially as it was accompanied with the royal bounty, proved beneficial in many respects. It encouraged multitudes of poor oppressed people in Ireland, Holland, and Germany, to emigrate; by which means the province received a number of useful settlers. As many of them came from manufacturing towns in Europe, it might have been expected that they would naturally have pursued the occupations to which they had been bred and in which their chief skill consisted; but this was by no means the case, for, excepting a few that took up their residence in Charlestown, they applied themselves to grazing and agriculture. By raising hemp, wheat, and corn, in the interior parts of the country, and curing hams, bacon, and beef, they supplied the market with abundance of provisions.

As every family of laborers was an acquisition to the country, for the encouragement of settlers to migrate thither and improve the vacant lands, a door was opened to protestants of every nation. Lands free from quit-rents for the first ten years were allotted to men, women, and children. With

their bounty-money they purchased utensils for cultivation, and hogs and cows to begin their stock. The like bounty was allowed to all servants, after the expiration of the term of their servitude. From this period Carolina was found to be an excellent refuge to the poor, the unfortunate, and oppressed. The population and prosperity of her colonies, engrossed the attention of the mother country. His majesty's bounty served to alleviate the hardships inseparable from the first years of cultivation; and landed property animated the emigrants to industry and perseverance. The different townships yearly increased in numbers. Every one, upon his arrival, obtained his grant of land and sat down on his freehold with no taxes, or very trifling ones, and enjoyed full liberty to hunt and fish, together with many other advantages and privileges he never knew in Europe. If they could not be called rich during their own lives, by improving their little freeholds, they commonly left their children in easy circumstances. Even in the first stage, being free and contented, their condition in many respects was preferable to that of laborers in Europe. In all improved countries, where commerce and manufacture have been long established and luxury prevails, the lower classes are oppressed and miserable. In Carolina, persons of that description though exposed to more troubles and hardships for a few years, had better opportunities than in Europe for advancing to an easy and independent State. Hence it happened that few emigrants ever returned to their native country; on the contrary, the success and prosperity of the most fortunate brought many adventurers and relations after them. Their love to their former friends, and their natural partiality for their countrymen, induced the old planters to receive the new settlers joyfully and even to assist and relieve them. Each individual possessing his own property, a reciprocal independence produced mutual respect and beneficence. Such general harmony and industry reigned among them that the townships, from a desolate wilderness, soon became fruitful fields.

The vast quantities of unoccupied land furnished the poor emigrants with many advantages. While they were encountering the hardships of the first years of cultivation, the inconveniences gradually decreased in proportion to their improvements. The merchants being favored with credit from Britain, were enabled to extend it to the inhabitants. The planters having established their characters for honesty and industry, obtained negroes to assist them in the harder tasks of clearing and cultivating the soil. Their wealth consisted in the increase of their slaves, stock, and improvements. Having abundance of waste land, they extended their culture in pro-

portion to their capital. They lived almost entirely on the produce of their estates, and consequently spent but a small part of their annual income. The surplus was yearly added to the capital, and they enlarged their prospects in proportion to their wealth and strength. If there was a great demand at market for the commodities they raised, their progress became rapid beyond expectation. They labored and received increasing encouragement to persevere until they advanced to an easy and comfortable state. It has been observed on the other hand, that few of the settlers who brought much property with them succeeded as well as those who brought little or none. It was pre-eminently a good poor man's country.

If the emigrant chose to follow his trade, the high price of labor was no less encouraging. By the indulgence of the merchants, or by the security of a friend he obtained credit for a few negroes. He taught them his trade, and a few good tradesman well employed were equal to a small estate. In a little time he acquired some money; and, like several others in the city whose yearly gain exceeded what is requisite for the support of themselves and families, put it out on interest. The legal interest of the province was ten per cent. till 1748, and eight per cent. from that year till 1777. This high rate induced many who were unwilling to settle plantations, to choose this method of increasing their fortune. If the money lender followed his employment in the capital, or reserved in his hands a sufficiency for family use, and allowed the interest to be added yearly to the capital stock, his fortune soon became considerable. Several persons preferred this method of accumulating riches to that of cultivation; especially those whom age or infirmity had rendered unfit for action and fatigue.

Notwithstanding the extensive credit commonly allowed by the merchants, the number of borrowers always exceeded that of the lenders of money. Having vast extent of territory the planters were eager to obtain laborers, which raised the demand for money and kept up a high rate of interest. The interest of money in every country is for the most part according to the demand, and the demand according to the profits made by the use of it. The profits must always be great where men can afford to take money at the rate of eight or ten per cent. In Carolina laborers on good lands cleared their first cost and charges in a few years, and therefore the demand for money to procure them was great.

The borrower of money obtained his landed estate from the crown. The quit-rents and taxes were inconsiderable. Being both landlord and farmer he had perfect liberty to manage and improve his plantation as he pleased, and was accounta-

ble to none for the fruits of his industry. His estate furnished him with game and fish, which he could kill and use at pleasure. In the woods his cattle, hogs, and horses grazed at their ease attended, perhaps only by a negro boy. He had calves, hogs, and poultry in abundance for the use of his family. He could turn his able laborers to the field, and exert all their energies in raising the staple commodities of the country. Having provision from domestic resources, he could apply his whole crop for the purposes of answering the demands of the merchant and money lender. He calculated that his annual produce would not only answer all demands, but bring an addition to his capital, and enable him to clear and cultivate more land. In proportion as the merchants extended credit to the planters, and supplied them with laborers, the profits of their plantations increased.

The lands which were cultivated in South Carolina, for the first eighty years after the settlement of the province, were, for the most part, situated on or near navigable creeks or rivers. The planters who lived fifty miles from the capital were at little more expense, in sending their provisions and produce to its market, than those who lived within five miles of it. The town was supplied with plenty of provisions, and its neighborhood prevented from enjoying a monopoly of its market. By this general and unlimited competition, the price of provisions was kept low. While the money arising from them circulated equally and universally through the country, it contributed, in return, to its improvement. The planters had not only water carriage to the market for their staple commodities, but, on their arrival, the merchant again committed them to the general tide of commerce, and received, in return, the valuable commodities of every clime.

The Carolinians all this time received protection to trade, a ready market, drawbacks and bounties from the mother country. The duties laid on many articles of foreign manufacture, on their importation into Britain, were drawn back on their exportation to the colonies. These drawbacks were always in favor of the consumers, and supplied the provincial markets with foreign goods nearly as cheap as if they had been immediately imported from the places where they were manufactured. Besides, upon the arrival of such goods in the country, the planters commonly had twelve months credit from the provincial merchant who was satisfied with payment once in the year from all his customers. To the consumers in Carolina, East India goods, German manufactures, Spanish, Portugal, Madeira and Fayal wines came cheaper than to those in Great Britain. Coal, salt, and other

articles, brought by way of ballast, have sometimes sold for less in Charlestown than in London.

The colonists were also allowed bounties on several articles of produce exported. For the encouragement of her colonies, Great Britain laid high duties on such as were imported from foreign countries, and gave the colonists premiums on the same commodities. The bounties on naval stores, indigo, hemp and raw silk proved an encouragement to industry, and all terminated in favor of the planters. The colonial merchants enjoyed perfect freedom in their trade with the West Indies, where they found a convenient and most excellent market for Indian corn, rice, lumber and salt provisions. In return they had rum, sugar, coffee and molasses cheaper than their fellow subjects in the mother country.

Great Britain laid the colonists under some restraints with respect to their domestic manufactures and their trade to foreign ports. Though this policy affected the more northern colonies, it was not prejudicial to Carolina. It served to direct the views of the people to the culture of lands, which was more profitable both to themselves and the mother country. Though they had plenty of beaver skins, and a few hats were manufactured from them, yet the price of labor was so high that the merchant could send the skins to England, import hats made of them, and undersell the manufacturers of Carolina. The province also furnished some wool and cotton, but before they could be made into cloth, they cost the consumers more money than the merchant demanded for the same goods imported. It afforded leather, but boots and shoes made from it at home were of an inferior quality, and often dearer than the same articles imported from Britain. In like manner, with respect to many other commodities, it was for the advantage of the province, as well as the mother country, to export the raw materials and import the goods manufactured. Cultivation was, therefore, the most profitable employment. It was the interest of such a flourishing colony to be always in debt to Great Britain, for the more laborers were sent the more rapidly the colony advanced in riches. If, from an unfavorable season, the planters were rendered unable to pay for the slaves they had purchased, the merchants generally indulged them another year, and sometimes allowed them to increase their debt by addititional purchases. This was often found the most certain method of obtaining payment. In like manner the merchant had indulgence from England, the primary source of credit.. By these forbearances the planter preserved, and often increased, his capital, while the difference of interest between the mother country and the province,

amounting at first to five, and always to three, per cent., was clear gain to the merchants.

Such was the general course of prosperity with which the royal province of South Carolina was blessed in the interval between the termination of the proprietary government in 1719, and the American revolution in 1776. No colony was ever better governed The first and second Georges were nursing fathers to the province. They performed to it the full orbed duty of Kings, and their paternal care was returned with the most ardent love and affection of their subjects in Carolina. The advantages were reciprocal. The colonists enjoyed the protection of Great Britain, and in return she had a monopoly of their trade. The mother country received great benefit from this intercourse, and the colony, under her protecting care, became great and happy. In South Carolina an enemy to the Hanoverian succession, or to the British Constitution, was scarcely known. The inhabitants were fond of British manners even to excess. They, for the most part, sent their children to England or Scotland for education, and spoke of these countries under the endearing appellation of home. They were enthusiasts for the government under which they had grown up and flourished. All ranks and orders of men gloried in their connection with the mother country, and in being subjects of the same king. The laws of the British Parliament, confining their trade for the benefit of the protecting parent state, were generally and cheerfully obeyed. Few countries have, at any time, exhibited so striking an instance of public and private prosperity as appeared in South Carolina between the years 1725 and 1775. The inhabitants of the province were, in that half century, increased seven fold. None were indigent but the idle and unfortunate. Personal independence was fully within the reach of every man who was healthy and industrious. All were secure in their persons and property. They were also contented with their colonial state, and wished not for the smallest change in their political constitution.

In the midst of these enjoyments, and the most sincere attachment to the mother country, to their king and his government, the people of South Carolina, without any original design on their part, were, step by step, drawn into a defensive revolutionary war, which involved them in every species of difficulty, and finally dissevered them from the parent state.

But before we proceed to relate these interesting events, some more early periods of the history of South Carolina must be surveyed

THE MILITARY HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

FROM 1670 TO 1776.

CHAPTER V.—SECTION I.

Contest with Spaniards.

All the forms of government, hitherto of force in Carolina, agreed in this particular: that every subject or citizen should also be a soldier. There was a nightly watch maintained in Charlestown ever since it was five years old, and, for the most part, by men hired for the purpose. But in all other times and situations the defence of the country rested solely on the militia, except in cases of great pressing and continued danger. The laws required every freeman of a suitable age, with a few necessary exemptions, to be enrolled as a member of some militia company and to be equipped and trained for public service. The necessity of this was so evident, that till about the middle of the 18th century, the practice was common and the men were enjoined by law to carry their arms to church.* The people could not brook a standing army in time of peace, but were required to be always ready to defend themselves. This was indispensably necessary, in their peculiar situation. The province was not only constantly exposed to internal danger; but its peace was early and repeatedly disturbed by Spaniards, Indians, and pirates. Carolina, with the English, was the southern part of Virginia; with the Spaniards it was the northern part of Florida. Both claimed by virtue of prior discovery, but the title of the Spaniards was supposed to be strengthened by a grant of the territory from his holiness the pope. Though the validity of the title of either could not be supported, before an impartial tribunal, yet a century passed away and much mischief was done before the controversy was compromised. The Spaniards considering the settlement of Carolina as an encroachment on Florida, were not scrupulous about the means of inducing its relinquishment. They encouraged indented servants to leave their masters, and fly to St. Augustine for protection. They impressed the Indians with unfavorable ideas of the English heretics, and encouraged

* The province was saved from much impending distress and desolation by an armed congregation sallying forth from the Presbyterian church at Wiltown in 1710, as has been related. The practice of going armed to church, was revived for a short time in the revolutionary war. For fifteen or twenty years before that event, and ever since, it has not been observed; but a formal repeal of the law cannot be recollected.

the former to obstruct the settlements of the latter. To these unneighborly acts were added occasional hostilities. In about three years after the first settlement of the province an armed party of Spaniards, from the garrison of St. Augustine, advanced as far as the island of St. Helena to dislodge or destroy the settlers. Fifty volunteers under the command of Colonel Godfrey marched against the invaders, who, on his approach, evacuated the island and retreated to Florida.

About the year 1682, Lord Cardross led a small colony from Scotland which settled on Port Royal Island. These claimed, by an agreement with the proprietors, a co-ordinate authority with the Governor and Council at Charlestown; but their claims were overruled. The Spaniards sent an armed force in 1786, and dislodged these solitary scotch settlers and most of them returned to their native country.*

These hostilities of the Spaniards were retaliated. In 1702, Governor James Moore proposed to the Assembly of Carolina an expedition against the Spanish settlement at St. Augustine. A majority of the Assembly declared for the expedition, and two thousand pounds sterling were voted for the service. They agreed to raise six hundred provincial militia, an equal number of Indians were procured, and vessels impressed to carry the forces. Port Royal was fixed on as the place of rendezvous, and from it in September 1702 the Governor at the head of his warriors embarked.

In the plan of operations it had been agreed that Colonel Daniel, with a detached party, should go by the inland passage and make a descent on the town from the land; while the Governor, with the main body, should proceed by sea and block up the harbor. Colonel Daniel accordingly advanced against the town, entered and plundered it before the Govenor arrived. But the Spaniards having laid up provisions for four months in the castle, retired to it with their money and most valuable effects. Upon the arrival of Governor Moore the place was invested with a force which the Spaniards could not face, and therefore kept themselves shut up in their stronghold. The Governor finding it impossible to dislodge them, without suitable artillery, dispatched colonel Daniel with a sloop to Jamaica to bring cannon, bombs, and mortars for attacking the castle. In the meantime the appearance of two Spanish ships, one of twenty-two guns, and the other of sixteen, near the mouth of the harbor, induced the Governor to raise the siege, abandon his ships and retreat to Carolina by land. The Spaniards in the garrison were not only relieved

* The governmental seal, used for this settlement, was carried to Scotland; but, in the year 1793, it was politely returned by the Earl of Buchan as an object of curiosity, and is now placed in the Museum of the Charleston Library.

but the ships, provisions, and ammunition, belonging to the Carolinians, fell into their hands. Colonel Daniel, on his return, standing in for the harbor of St. Augustine, found to his surprise the siege raised, and with difficulty escaped from the enemy.

The Governor lost no more than two men in this expedition, yet it entailed on the colony a debt of six thousand pounds sterling which, at that period, was a grievous burden. The provincial assembly met to concert ways and means for discharging it. A bill was brought in for stamping bills of credit, to answer the public exigence, which were to be sunk in three years by a duty on liquors, skins, and furs. This was the first paper money issued in the province, and, for five or six years, it passed at the same value and rate with the sterling money of England. Thus war, debt, and paper money, were coeval in Carolina; and connected as cause and effect in the order in which they are mentioned.

Four years after the termination of Moore's expedition against St. Augustine the Spaniards and French, then at war with Great Britain, projected a combined attack on Charlestown; with a view of recovering the province claimed by the Spaniards as a part of Florida. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, then Governor, had been a military man and was well qualified to conduct its defence. No sooner had he received intelligence of the designs of the enemy, than he set every one to work upon the fortifications, appointed a number of gunners to each bastion, and diligently trained the men to the use of arms. A small fort, called fort Johnson, was erected on James Island and several cannon mounted thereon. Intrenchments were made on White Point, and other suitable places. A guard was stationed on Sullivan's Island, with orders to kindle a number of fires opposite the town equal to the number of ships they might see on the coast.

Carolina was at this juncture the southern frontier of the British empire in America; and though it had acquired some degree of strength, was in a feeble state to resist an enemy of force. From its situation there was reason to apprehend that the French and Spaniards would attack it, as it would be an easier conquest than the more populous northern settlements. Before this time a plan had been concerted at the Havanna, for invading it. Monsieur Le Feboure, with a french frigate and four armed sloops, encouraged and assisted by the Spanish Governor of Cuba, sailed for Charlestown. To facilitate the conquest, Monsieur Le Feboure had directions to touch at St. Augustine and carry from it such a force as he judged adequate to the enterprise. Upon his arrival there, he received intelligence of an epidemical distemper, which raged at Charles-

town and had destroyed a vast number of inhabitants. Instead of discouraging, this animated him to proceed with greater expedition. He took on board a considerable number of forces and sailed for Charlestown. The appearance of five seperate smokes on Sullivan's Island, announced to the inhabitants that the same number of ships was observed on the coast.

Sir Nathaniel Johnson being at his plantation, several miles from town, Lieut. Col. Wm. Rhett, commanding officer of the militia, immediately ordered the whole of the inhabitants to be put under arms. A messenger was dispatched with the news to the Governor, and letters were sent to all the captains of the militia in the country ordering them to fire alarm guns—raise their companies—and to march with all possible expedition to the assistance of Charlestown.

In the evening the enemy's fleet came near to the bar; but, as the passage was intricate and dangerous, they hovered on the coast all night within sight of land. Having come to an anchor, they employed their boats all the next day in sounding the south bar. This delay afforded time for the militia in the country to march to town.

Governor Johnson, on his arrival, found the inhabitants in great consternation; but his presence, as a man of known bravery and military capacity, inspired them with confidence and resolution. He proclaimed martial law at the head of the militia—issued the necessary orders for their conduct, and sent to the Indian tribes in alliance with the colony to come immediately to his assistance. As a contagious distemper was said to rage in Charlestown, the Governor judged it imprudent to expose his men unnecessarily to danger; and therefore held his headquarters about half a mile distant from the town. In the evening, a troop of horse commanded by Captain George Logan, and two companies of foot under the command of Major George Broughton, reached the capital and kept watch during the night. The next morning a company from James Island, commanded by Captain Drake, another from Wands under Captain Fenwicke, and five more commanded by Captains Cantey, Lynch, Kearn, Longbois, and Seabrook, joined the other militia. The principal force of the province with the Governor at their head, was now assembled in and near Charlestown.

The day following, the enemy's four ships and a galley came over the bar, and stood directly for the town, having the advantages of a fair wind and strong tide. When they had advanced so far up the river as to discover the fortifications, they cast anchor a little above Sullivan's Island. The Governor observing their approach towards the town, marched his

men into it to receive them; but finding they had stopped by the way, he had time to call a council of war; in which it was agreed to put some great guns on board of such ships as were in the harbor, and employ the sailors, in their own way, for the better defence of the town. William Rhett, a man of courage and conduct, received a commission to be Vice-Admiral of this little fleet; and hoisted his flag on board the Crown galley.

The enemy sent up a flag of truce to the Governor to summon him to surrender. George Evans, who commanded Granville bastion, received their messenger on his landing from the boat, and conducted him blindfolded into the fort, until the Governor was in readiness to receive him. In the meantime having drawn up his men in such a manner as to make them appear to the greatest advantage, he admitted the French officer; and having first shown him one fort full of men, conducted him by a different route to another, where the same men sent by a shorter way were drawn up before hand. Having given him a view of his strength, he demanded the purport of his message; the officer told him that he was sent by Monsieur Le Feboure, Admiral of the French fleet, to demand a surrender of the town and country, and of their persons as prisoners of war; adding that his orders allowed him no more than one hour for an answer. Governor Johnson replied, "There was no occasion for one minute to answer that message; that he held the town and country for the Queen of England, and could depend on his men, who would sooner die than surrender themselves prisoners of war; that he was resolved to defend the place to the last drop of his blood;" and informed the officer "that he might go when he pleased and acquaint Monsieur Le Feboure with his resolution."

The day following, a party of the enemy went ashore on James Island and burnt some houses. Another party, consisting of an hundred and sixty men, landed on the opposite side of the river and burnt two vessels in Dearby's creek, and set fire to a store-house. Sir Nathaniel Johnson ordered Captain Drake and his company, with a small party of Indians to James Island, to oppose the enemy on that side. Drake marched against them, but before he could bring up his men the Indians, who ran through the woods with their usual impetuosity, had driven the invaders to their boats. At the same time advice was brought to town, that the party who landed on Wands neck had killed a number of hogs and cattle and were feasting on the plunder. To prevent their farther progress into the country, Caplain Cantey, with one hundred chosen men, was ordered to pass the river privately in the night and watch their motions. Before break of day the

Captain came up and finding them in a state of security, surrounded and attacked them briskly. They were thrown into confusion and fled. Some were killed, others drowned in attempting to make their escape, and the remainder surrendered prisoners of war.

The Carolinians, encouraged and animated by their success at land, determined to try their fortune by sea. Accordingly William Rhett set sail with his fleet of six small ships, and proceeded down the river to the place where the enemy rode at anchor; but the French perceiving this fleet standing towards them weighed anchor and sailed over the bar. For some days nothing more was heard of them. The Governor ordered Captain Watson, of the Sea Flower, out to sea to examine whether the coast was clear. The Captain returned without seeing the enemy; but observing some men on shore, whom they had left behind, he took them on board and brought them to town. These men assured the Governor that the French were gone. In consequence thereof orders were given for the cessation of martial law, and the inhabitants began to rejoice at their happy deliverance.

But before night, advice was brought that a ship of force was seen in Sewee Bay, and that a number of armed men had landed from her. Upon examination of the prisoners the Governor found that the French expected a ship of war with Monsieur Arbuset, their General, and a reinforcement of two hundred men to their assistance. The Governor ordered Captain Fenwicke to pass the river and march against them by land, while Rhett with a Dutch privateer and an armed Bermuda sloop sailed round by sea to meet him at Sewee Bay. Captain Fenwicke came up with the enemy and briskly charged them. Though advantageously posted, after a few vollies, they gave way and retreated to their ship. Rhett soon after came to Fenwicke's assistance, and the French ship struck without firing a shot. The Vice Admiral returned to Charlestown with his prize and ninety prisoners.

Thus ended Monsieur Le Feboure's invasion of Carolina; little to his own honor as a commander, and less to the credit and courage of his men. It is probable he expected to find the province in a weak and defenceless situation, and that the Governor would instantly surrender on his appearance before the town. But he was deceived. Governor Johnson was a man of approved courage and conduct. The militia undertook the various enterprises assigned to them with the spirit of men, and success crowned their endeavers. Out of eight hundred who came against the colony, near three hundred were killed and taken prisoners. Among the latter were Monsieur Arbuset, their Commander-in-Chief by land, with several sea officers;

who, together, offered ten thousand pieces of eight for their ransom. On the other hand, the loss sustained by the provincial militia was incredibly small. The Governor publicly thanked them for the unanimity and courage they had shown in repelling the invaders. The proprietors were so highly pleased with Johnson's good conduct that they made him a present of a large tract of land by a special grant in terms the most flattering and honorable.*

Though hostilities had been carried on by the Spaniards against Carolina, to reclaim it as a part of Florida, the boundaries between these provinces were neither clearly marked nor well understood; for they had never been settled by any public agreement between England and Spain. To prevent negroes escaping to the Spanish territories the Carolinians had built a fort on the forks of the river Alatamaha, and supported a small garrison in it. This gave offence to the Governor of St. Augustine, who complained of it to the court of Madrid as an encroachment on the dominions of Spain. The Spanish Ambassador at London lodged the complaint before the court of Britain, and demanded that orders should be sent to demolish the fort. It was agreed that the Governors in America on both sides should meet in an amicable manner, and adjust the respective boundaries between the British and Spanish dominions in that quarter. Accordingly Don Francisco Menandez and Don Joseph de Rabiero, in behalf of Spain, came to Charlestown to hold a conference on the subject with the executive officers of the government. At their meeting Arthur Middleton, President of the Council, demonstrated to the Spanish deputies that the fort, against which complaint had been made was built within the bounds of the charter granted to the proprietors and that the pretensions of Spain to the lands in question were groundless. At the same time he told them that the fort, on the river Alatamaha, was erected for defending themselves and their property against the depredations of Indians living under the jurisdiction of Spain. Mr. Mid-

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* This land and the original special grant are now in the possession of Joseph Manigault. This repelled invasion was ridiculed in a humorous burlesque poem written above one hundred years ago in French, by one of the garrison, probably a French refugee. The poet makes the Governor, in his answer to the invaders, requiring an immediate surrender of the town and country to say as follows:

"Que s'ils attaquoient nôtre camp,
Ils y trouveroient bien mille hommes,
Qui ne se battroient pas de pommes,
Outre cinq cens Refugés
Que la France a repudiés,
Et reduits presque à l'Indigençe,
Qui ne respiroient que vengençe,
Ce qu'on leur feroit èprouver,
S'ils ozoient nous venir trouver."

dleton then begged to know their reasons "for protecting felons and debtors that fled to them from Carolina, and for encouraging negroes to leave their masters and take refuge at St. Augustine, while peace subsisted between the two crowns." The deputies replied, "that the Governor of Florida would deliver up all felons and debtors; but had express orders, for twenty years past, to detain all slaves who should fly to St. Augustine for liberty and protection." Mr. Middleton declared that he looked on such orders as a breach of national honor and faith, especially, as negroes were as much private property in Carolina as houses and lands." The deputies answered, "that the design of the King of Spain was not to injure any one, for he had ordered compensation to be made to the masters of such slaves in money; but that his humanity, and religion, enjoined him to issue such orders for the sake of converting slaves to the Christian faith." The conference ended to the satisfaction of neither party, and matters remained as they were; but soon after the English fort, near the Alatamaha, was burned to the ground; and the southern frontiers of Carolina were again left naked and defenceless.

As no final agreement with respect to the limits of the two provinces had been concluded, the Indians, in alliance with Spain, continued to harrass the British settlements. Scalping parties of the Yamassees frequently penetrated into Carolina—killed white men, and carried off every negro they could find. Though the owners of slaves had been allowed from the Spanish government a compensation in money for their losses, yet few of them ever received it. At length, Colonel Palmer resolved to make reprisals on the plunderers. For this purpose, he gathered together a party of militia and friendly Indians, consisting of about three hundred men, and entered Florida, with a resolution of spreading desolation throughout the province. He carried his arms as far as the gates of St. Augustine, and compelled the inhabitants to take refuge in their castle. Scarce a house or hut in the colony escaped the flames. He destroyed their provisions in the fields—drove off their cattle, hogs and horses, and left the Floridians little property, except what was protected by the guns of their fort. By this expedition, he demonstrated to the Spaniards their weakness; and that the Carolinians, whenever they pleased, could prevent the cultivation and settlement of their province so as to render the improvement of it impracticable on any other than peaceable terms with their neighbors.

Soon after these events, the French in Louisiana advanced nearer to Carolina. They erected a stronghold, called fort Alabama, on Mobile river, which was well situated for opening and carrying on a correspondence with the most powerful

nations, contiguous to the southern British colonies. The Carolinians had good reason to be on their guard against the influence of these new and enterprising neighbors. The tribes of upper creeks, whose hunting lands extended to the fort, were soon won over by promises and largesses to form an alliance with the French. The Cherokees lived at a greater distance; yet by means of the creeks, and other emissaries, the French endeavored to bring them over to their interest. The river Mississippi, being navigable several hundred miles from its mouth, opened a communication with the Chocktaws, Chickesaws, and other nations residing near it. The French had, therefore, many convenient opportunities of seducing these Indians from their alliance with Britain. The President of the Council of Carolina employed Captain Tobias Fitch among the Creeks, and Colonel George Chicken among the Cherokees, to keep these tribes steady and firm to the British interest. These agents found no small difficulty in counteracting the influence of French policy. From this period, the British and French settlers in America became competitors for power and influence over the Indian nations. And the Carolinians were farther from peace and safety than ever. The French supplied these savages with tomahawks, muskets, and ammunition, by which means they laid aside the bow and arrow, and became more dangerous and formidable enemies than they ever had been.

By the settlement of Georgia, in 1733, Carolina ceased to be a frontier; but the Spaniards continued to seduce their negroes, and to do other injurious acts. War being declared in 1739, by Great Britain, against Spain, an opportunity was given for attempting the reduction of the fort at St. Augustine, which was considered as the only effectual means of securing the two most southern provinces. General Oglethorpe, of Georgia, projected an expedition for that purpose. He communicated his design by letter to William Bull, Lieutenant Governor of South Carolina, and requested the aid of that province in the common cause. Bull laid the letter before the provincial assembly, recommending to raise a regiment and to give all possible assistance to the enterprise. The Assembly favored the proposal.

General Oglethorpe urged the speedy execution of his project with a view to surprise the enemy before they could receive a supply of provisions. He declared that no personal toil or danger should discourage his utmost exertions to free Carolina from such neighbors as instigated their slaves to massacre them and publicly protected them after such bloody attempts. To concert measures with the greater secrecy and expedition, he went to Charlestown and laid before the Legis-

iature an estimate of the force, arms, ammunition, and provisions which he judged requisite for the expedition. In consequence of which the Assembly voted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, Carolina money, for the service of the war. A regiment, consisting of four hundred men was raised partly in Virginia and partly in North and South Carolina, and the command was given to Colonel Vanderdussen. Indians were called into service from the different tribes in alliance with Britain. Vincent Price, commander of the ships of war on that station, agreed to assist with a naval force, consisting of four ships of twenty guns each and two sloops. General Oglethorpe appointed the mouth of St. John's river, on the Florida shore, for the place of rendezvous.

On the 9th of May, 1740, he passed over to Florida with four hundred select men of his regiment, and a considerable party of Indians; and on the day following invested Diego, a small fort, about twenty-five miles from St. Augustine. This, after a short resistance, surrendered by capitulation. In it he left a garrison of sixty men, under the command of Lieutenant Dunbar, and returned to the place of general rendezvous, where he was joined by Colonel Vanderdussen with the Carolina regiment, and a company of Highlanders, under the command of Captain M'Intosh. By this time, six Spanish half-galleys, with long brass nine-pounders, and two sloops loaded with provisions, had got into the harbor of St. Augustine. A few days afterwards the General marched with his whole force, consisting of above two thousand men, regulars, provincials and Indians, to fort Moosa, situated within two miles of St. Augustine. On his approach, the Spanish garrison evacuated this post and retired into the town.

Notwithstanding the dispatch of the British army, the Spaniards had collected all the cattle in the neighboring woods, and drove them into the town; and the General found that more difficulty would attend the enterprise than he at first expected. The castle was built of soft stone, with four bastions; the curtain was sixty yards in length; the parapet nine feet thick; the rampart twenty feet high, casemated underneath for lodgings, arched over, and made bomb proof. Fifty pieces of cannon were mounted, several of which were twenty-four pounders. The town was also intrenched with ten salient angles, on each of which some small cannon were mounted. The garrison consisted of seven hundred regulars, two troops of horse, four companies of armed negroes, besides the militia of the province, and Indians.

The general perceived that an attempt to take the castle by storm would cost him dear, and therefore changed his plan of operations. With the assistance of the ships of war, which

were lying at anchor off St. Augustine bar, he resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, to shut up every channel by which provisions could be conveyed to the garrison. For this purpose, he left Colonel Palmer with ninety-five Highlanders and forty-two Indians at fort Moosa, with orders to scour the woods and intercept all supplies of cattle from the country by land. He at the same time ordered him to camp every night in a different place—to keep strict watch around his camp, and by all means to avoid coming to action. He sent Colonel Vanderdussen, with the Carolina regiment, over a small creek, to take possession of a neck of land called Point Quartel, more than a mile distant from the castle, with orders to erect a battery upon it; while he himself with his regiment, and the greatest part of the Indians, embarked in boats and landed on the island of Anastatia. From this island, the General resolved to bombard the town. Captain Pierce stationed his ships so that the Spaniards were cut off from all supplies by sea. Batteries were erected, and several cannon mounted on Anastatia Island. General Oglethorpe then summoned the Spanish Governor to surrender; but the Don sent him for answer "that he would be glad to shake hands with him in his castle."

The opportunity of surprising the place being lost, Oglethorpe had no other method left but to attack it at the distance in which he then stood. For this purpose he opened his batteries against the castle, and at the same time threw a number of shells into the town. The fire was returned with equal spirit both from the Spanish fort, and from six half-galleys in the harbor; but so great was the distance, that though they continued the cannonade for several days, litttle execution was done on either side.

In the meantime the Spanish Commander, observing the besiegers embarrassed, sent out a detachment against Colonel Palmer which surprised him at fort Moosa; and while his party was asleep, cut them almost entirely to pieces. A few that accidentally escaped went over in a small boat to the Carolina regiment at Point Quartel. About the same time, the blockading vessel stationed at the Metanzas being ordered off, some small vessels from the Havanna with provisions and a reinforcement of men got into St. Augustine to the relief of the garrison. A party of Creeks brought four Spanish prisoners to the General, who informed him that the garrison had received seven hundred men and a large supply of provisions. All prospects of starving the enemy being lost, the army began to despair of forcing the place to surrender. The Carolina troops, enfeebled by the heat—despairing of success—and fatigued by fruitless efforts, marched away in large bodies. The navy being short of provisions, and the usual season of

hurricanes approaching, the Commander judged it imprudent to hazard his majesty's ships by remaining longer on that coast. The General was sick of a fever—his regiment exhausted with fatigue and rendered unfit for action by disease. These combined disasters made it necessary to abandon the enterprise. Oglethorpe with extreme regret fell back to Frederica. On the 13th of August, the Carolina regiment returned to Charlestown. Though not one of them had been killed by the enemy, their number was reduced fourteen by disease and accidents.

Thus ended the expedition against St. Augustine, to the great disappointment of both Georgia and Carolina. Many reflections were afterwards thrown out against General Oglethorpe, for his conduct during the whole enterprise. He, on the other hand, declared he had no confidence in the provincials for that they refused obedience to his orders and at last abandoned his camp and retreated to Carolina. The place was so strongly fortified, both by nature and art, that probably the attempt must have failed though it had been conducted by the ablest officer, and executed by the best disciplined troops. The miscarriage was particularly injurious to Carolina, having not only subjected the province to a great expense, but also left it in a worse situation than it was before the attempt.

This invasion of Florida was soon retaliated. The Spaniads had not yet relinquished their claim to the southern extreme of the British colonies. They therefore prepared an armament to expel the English settlers from Georgia. There is reason to believe that if they had succeeded against that infant province, Carolina would have become the scene of their next operations. To accomplish these purposes an armament was prepared at the Havanna; two thousand forces, commanded by Don Antonio de Rodondo, embarked from that port under convoy of a strong squadron and arrived at St. Augustine in May. Oglethorpe, on receiving intelligence of their arrival in Florida, sent advices of it to Governor Glen of Carolina and made all possible preparations for a vigorous resistance. With his regiment, a few rangers, highlanders, and Indians, he fixed his headquarters at Frederica and waited in expectation of a reinforcement from Carolina. About the last of June the Spanish fleet, amounting to thirty-two sail and carrying above three thousand men under the command of Don Manuel de Monteano, came to anchor off St. Simon's bar. After sounding the channel, the Don passed through Jekyl sound, received a fire from Oglethorpe at fort Simon's, and proceeded up the Alatamaha beyond the reach of his guns. There the enemy landed and erected a battery with twenty eighteen-pounders mounted on it. Oglethorpe judging his situation at fort Simon's

to be dangerous, spiked the guns, burst the bombs and cohorns, destroyed the stores, and retreated to Frederica. With a force amounting to little more than seven hundred men, exclusively of Indians, he could not hope to act but on the defensive until the arrival of reinforcements from Carolina. He however, employed his Indians, and occasionally his highlanders, in scouring the woods—harrassing the outposts of the enemy, and throwing impediments in their way. In the attempts of the Spanish to penetrate through the woods and morasses to reach Frederica, several rencounters took place; in one of which they lost a Captain and two Lieutenants killed, and above one hundred of their men were taken prisoners. Oglethorpe, learning by an English prisoner who escaped from the Spanish camp that a difference subsisted between the troops from Cuba and those from St. Augustine occasioning a separate encampment, resolved to attack the enemy while thus divided. He marched out in the night with the intention of surprising the enemy. Having advanced within two miles of the Spanish camp he halted his troops, and went forward himself with a select corps to reconnoitre the enemy's situation. While he was endeavoring to conceal his approach, a French soldier discharged his musket and ran into the Spanish lines.

The General returned to Frederica, and endeavored to effect by stratagem what could not be achieved by surprise. Apprehensive that the deserter would discover to the enemy his weakness, he wrote to him a letter; desiring him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica, and the ease with which his small garrison might be cut to pieces. He pressed him to bring forward the Spaniards to an attack; but if he could not prevail thus far, to use all his art and influence to persuade them to stay at least three days more at fort Simons; for within that time he should have a reinforcement of two thousand land forces, with six British ships of war. The letter concluded with a caution to the deserter against dropping the least hint of Admiral Vernon's meditated attack upon St. Augustine; and with assurance that for his service, he would be amply rewarded by the British King. Oglethorpe gave it to the Spanish prisoner; who for a small reward, together with his liberty, promised to deliver it to the French deserter. On his arrival at the Spanish camp, he gave the letter, as Oglethorpe expected, to the Commander-in-Chief, who instantly put the deserter in irons. This letter perplexed and confounded the Spaniards; some suspecting it to be a stratagem to prevent an attack on Frederica, and others believing it to contain serious instructions to direct the conduct of a spy. While the Spanish officers were deliberating what measures

to adopt, an incident, not within the calculation of military skill or the control of human power, decided their counsels. Three ships of force, which the Governor of South Carolina had sent to Oglethorpe's aid, appeared off the coast. The agreement of this discovery with the contents of the letter, convinced the Spanish Commander of its real intention. The whole army seized with an instant panic, set fire to the fort and precipitately embarked; leaving several cannon, with a quantity of provisions and military stores. Thus in the moment of threatened conquest, the infant colony was providentially saved. Though the Spaniards threatened to renew the invasion, yet we do not find that after this repulse they ever made any attempt by force of arms to gain possession of Georgia or Carolina.

For the seventy-two years which had passed away since the settlement of South Carolina, there had been repeated reciprocal invasions of the contiguous Spanish and British provinces. Though hostilities occasionally ceased, bickerings were always kept alive from the constant irritation of unneighborly, injurious acts; till by the peace of Paris in 1763, the two Floridas were ceded by Spain to Great Britain. From that period, till the commencement of the revolutionary war, the inhabitants of Florida and those of Georgia and Carolina being all subjects of the same King, lived in harmony with each other. No sooner had the American war began, than the former scenes of plunder and devastation recommenced between the contiguous provinces. The Floridas by remaining a part of the British empire, while Georgia and Carolina became free States, were set in opposition to each other. Hostilities, as is usual among the borderers of contending governments, were rendered more fierce from the circumstance of contiguity. Throughout the war parties from each reciprocally plundered and harrassed the other; ostensibly on one side for the advancement of British, and on the other of American interests; but in both cases for the private emolument of the actors in these disgraceful scenes. Florida also afforded an entrance through which British agents furnished supplies to the Indian tribes adjacent to the new formed American States, and by which they encouraged the former to destroy the latter. Such will ever be the case in the event of war between the sovereigns of Florida, and the citizens of America. Happy are the people whose territories are encircled by obvious natural boundaries, easily distinguished but not easily passed.

SECTION II.

Contests with Indians.

When South Carolina was settled by the English, it was in the occupation of more than twenty nations, or tribes of Indians. Their combined numbers were so considerable that had they been guided by a spirit of union, or directed by a Common Council, they would have been able at any time, for many years after the settlement, to have exterminated the new comers. The Indians in their military capacity, were not so inferior to the whites as some may imagine. The superiority of muskets over bows and arrows, managed by Indians in a woody country, is not great. The savage, quick-sighted and accustomed to perpetual watchfulness, springs from his hiding place, behind a bush, and surprises his enemy with the pointed arrow before he is aware of danger. He ranges through the trackless forest like the beasts of prey, and safely sleeps under the same canopy with the wolf and bear. His vengeance is concealed, till he sends the tidings in the fatal blow.

Though the Indians viewed with a jealous eye the encroachments made on their territorial possessions, they took no effectual measures for the defence of their property. Finding many present conveniences to result from their intercourse with the new comers, they acquiesced in their settlement. Destitute of foresight, they did not anticipate consequences; nor did they embitter present enjoyments, with forebodings of future evils. To the Indian, a knife, a hatchet, or a hoe, was a valuable acquisition. He observed with what facility the strangers supplied their many wants by means of the various implements they used. The woods fell before the axe—the earth opened before the hoe and spade—and the knife was useful on numberless occasions. He admired the skill of white men in making these articles of ease and profit, and voluntarily offered to them his deer skins, the only riches he had which could procure them. The love of ease was as natural to the one as the other; and the Indian would rather give to the white settler the profits of a year's hunting, than be without his instruments. Having obtained these, in process of time he found the tomahawk and musket equally useful. These he also coveted, and could not rest till he obtained them. What was at first only convenient, as his wants increased became almost necessary. The original bond was therefore progressively strengthened and confirmed. As the channel of commerce opened, the Indian found that he was not only treated with friendship and civility, but that the

white people were equally fond of his skins, furs, and lands, as he was of their gaudy trinkets and various implements. It was this connection that induced the native inhabitants of the forest peaceably to admit strangers, though differing in complexion, language, and manners, to reside among them and to clear and cultivate their lands.

By these means the first settlers of Carolina readily obtained foothold among the native owners of the soil. The proprietors gave instructions to their tenants to cultivate the good will of the aborigines. They also made many presents to them, but nothing appears on record like a formal purchase or transfer of any part of the low country from the one to the other.* Tradition has informed us that some individuals, from a sense of justice, made private purchases from the Indians; but in general a liberty to settle was neither asked nor given; but was taken by white men, and acquiesced in by the savages. Private contentions between them were frequent, but formal hostilities on national grounds only occasional; many causes of the former existed, and but few of the latter. While the English thought little of Indian rights to lands, the latter were equally regardless of the rights of the former to moveable property. (Accustomed to take wild animals wherever found, they could not readily comprehend the crime of taking such as were tame.) What the English settler called theft, the Indian considered as the exercise of a natural right. The ideas of a civilized and savage man were at greater variance in other important matters. If the former in a fit of drunkenness, in the heat of passion, or even in self defence, killed or wounded the latter, nothing less than scalp for scalp —blood for blood—and death for death, could satisfy the surviving friends of the injured party. If the real criminal could not be found, they claimed the right of retaliating on any person of the same color or nation that came in their way. They also admitted the voluntary substitution of an innocent person

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* The people of Carolina hold their lands in the southern and western parts of the State partly by conquest, and partly by treaties with the aborigines. These were valid against the natives. The charters from the sovereigns of England were in like manner good against the grantors and other Europeans, but the rights of the present possessors have a higher origin than either of these sources. The earth was made for man, and was intended by the Creator of all things to be improved for the benefit of mankind. The land which could support one savage in his mode of living, is capable of supporting five hundred under proper cultivation. These wild lands therefore were not the seperate property of the few savages who hunted over them, but belonged to the common stock of mankind. The first who possessed a vacant spot, and actually cultivated it for some time, ought to be considered as the proprietor of that spot, and they who derive their titles from him have a valid right to the same. This doctrine is agreeable to the judicial determination of the courts of South Carolina with respect to rights in lands derived solely from possession, and is the ground on which the claims of Spain to the whole country can be invalidated.

as an atonement for one that was guilty, who thereupon was free.

This conduct and these rules of action, were hostile to peace. As the forgiveness of injuries is so far from being any part of the creed of Indians, that they consider it as pusillanimous not to avenge the death of their friends, one quarrel often produced another. Feuds which were originally private and personal, soon became public and national, and seldom failed to multiply and extend their tragical effects. The Indians made very free with the planters' stock, and these as freely made use of their arms in defence of their property. Lives were frequently lost in these petty contests. If an Indian was killed, his countrymen poured their vengeance indiscriminately on the innocent and guilty. Governor West found it necessary to encourage and reward such of the colonists as would take the field against them for the public defence. Accordingly a price was fixed on every Indian the settlers should take prisoner, and bring to Charlestown. These captive savages were disposed of to the traders, who sent them to the West Indies, and there sold them as slaves. This traffic was an inhuman method of getting rid of troublesome neighbors, yet the planters pleaded necessity in its vindication. It is certain that the reward for Indian prisoners encouraged bold adventurers, and the sale of them made a profitable branch of trade. These advantages weighed with interested persons as an extenuation, if not a justification of the practice. The proceeds of the Indians, when sold in the West Indies, were generally returned to the colonists in rum. This appropriation of the gains of the iniquitous traffic was so injurious, that in many instances it was doubtful whether the evil ultimately suffered or that originally committed was greatest.

The Carolinians soon found out the policy of setting one tribe of Indians against another, on purpose to save themselves. By trifling presents they purchased the friendship of some tribes whom they employed to carry on war with others. This not only diverted their attention from the white settlers, but encouraged them to bring captives to Charlestown for the purpose of transportation to the West Indies.

A war commenced in the beginning of the year 1680 with the Westoes, a very powerful tribe between Charlestown and Edisto, which well nigh ruined the infant settlement. The cause of hostilities, thus inconvenient and dangerous, may be found in injuries which had been mutually given and received. A peace was concluded in the subsequent year, the old giving security for the good conduct of the young. To prevent the return of similar mischiefs, and to advance justice, the proprietors erected a commission for Maurice Matthews,

William Fuller, Jonathan Fits, and John Boone, to decide all complaints between the English and the Indians. Some complaints were made against these commissioners, the particulars of which have not reached us. They were discharged and the commission abrogated. In lieu thereof the proprietors ordered that the Indians within 400 miles of Charlestown, should all be taken under their protection.

The next Indian war was an offensive one on the part of the Carolinians. The Apalachian Indians, by their connection with the Spaniards, had become troublesome. Governor Moore, in 1702 or 1703, marched at the head of a body of white men and Indian allies into the heart of their settlements. Wherever he went he carried fire and sword. He laid in ashes the towns of those tribes who lived between the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah; captured many savages, and obliged others to submit to the English government. This exertion of power in that quarter filled the savages with terror of the British arms, and helped to pave the way for the English colony afterwards planted between these rivers. The Governor received the thanks of the proprietors, wiped off the ignominy of his expedition against St. Augustine, and procured a number of Indian slaves whom he employed as slaves or sold for his own advantage.

The first serious war with the Indians, in which Carolina participated, took place far to the north of Charlestown. This appears to have been entered upon by the natives with a view of exterminating the English settlers. What they might have accomplished in the first years of the settlement, was beyond their power when forty-two years had given it strength and stability.

In the year 1712, a dangerous conspiracy was formed by the Indians of North Carolina against the settlers in that quarter. The particular cause of the quarrel is unknown; probably they were offended at the encroachments made on their hunting lands. The powerful tribes of Indians, called Corees, Tuscororas, and some others, united and determined to murder or expel the European invaders. They carried on their bloody design with amazing cunning and profound secresy. They surrounded their principal town with a wooden breast-work, for the security of their own families. There the different tribes met together, to the number of twelve hundred bowmen, and formed their horrid plot. From this place of rendezvous they sent out small parties, who entered the settlements, under the mask of friendship, by different roads. All of them agreed to begin their murderous operations on the same night. When that night came they entered the planters' houses, demanded provisions, were displeased with

them, and then murdered men, women and children, without mercy or distinction. To prevent a communication of the alarm through the settlement, they ran from house to house, slaughtering the scattered families wherever they went. None of the colonists knew what had befallen their neighbors before the barbarians reached their own doors. About Roanoke one hundred and thirty-seven settlers fell a sacrifice to savage fury in one fatal night. A Swiss Baron, and almost all the poor palatines who had lately come into the county, were among the slain. Some, who had hid themselves in the woods, escaped, and by alarming their neighbors, prevented the total destruction of that colony. Every family that survived was ordered instantly to assemble at one place, and the militia under arms kept watch over them day and night until relief arrived.

Governor Craven lost no time in forwarding a force to their assistance. The Assembly voted four thousand. pounds for the service of the war. A body of militia, consisting of six hundred men, under the command of Colonel Barnwell, marched against the savages. Two hundred and eighteen Cherokees, under the command of Captains Harford and Turston; seventy-nine Creeks, under Captain Hastings; forty-one Catabaws, under Captain Cantey, and twenty-eight Yamassees, under Captain Pierce, being furnished with arms, joined the Carolinians in this expedition. Hideous and dreadful was the wilderness through which Colonel Barnwell had to march. To reach North Carolina in time for the relief of the people, the utmost expedition was requisite. It was neither possible for his men to carry with them a sufficient quantity of provisions, together with arms and ammunition, nor to have these things provided at different stages by the way. There was no road through the woods upon which either horses or carriages could conveniently pass. His army had to encounter all manner of hardships and dangers from the climate, the wilderness, and the enemy. In spite of every difficulty Barnwell advanced, employing his Indian allies to hunt for provisions on the way. At length, having come up with the savages, he attacked them with great execution. In the first battle he killed three hundred Indians, and took about one hundred prisoners. After which the Tuscororas retreated to their town, within a wooden breast-work. There they were surrounded, many of them killed, and the remainder forced to sue for peace. Some of Barnwell's men being wounded, and others having suffered much by watching, hunger and fatigue, the savages easily obtained their request. In this expedition it was computed that Barnwell killed, wounded and captured near a thousand Tuscororas. The

survivors abandoned their country and joined a northern tribe of Indians on the Ohio river. Of Barnwell's party, five Carolinians were killed and several wounded. Of his Indians, thirty-six were killed and between sixty and seventy wounded. Never had any expedition against the savages in Carolina been attended with such difficulties, nor had the conquest of any tribe of them ever been more complete.

Although this expedition was well conducted, and proved successful, the expense incurred by it fell heavy on the province, the revenues of which were ill adapted for such enterprises. Great harmony at that time subsisted between the Governor and Assembly, and they were well disposed to concur in every measure for the public good. The stamping of bills of credit had been used as the easiest method of defraying similar expenses. At this time the Legislature thought proper to establish a public bank, and issued £52,000, in bills of credit, for answering the exigencies of government and for the convenience of domestic commerce. This money was lent out at interest on bonds, secured by landed or personal security, and made payable by easy instalments.

In the year 1715 South Carolina was visited with an Indian war so formidable as to threaten its total extirpation. The numerous and powerful tribes of Indians called Yamassees, were the most active in promoting this conspiracy; though every tribe in the vicinity were more or less concerned in it. The Yamassees possessed a large territory, lying backward from Port Royal Island, on the northeast side of Savannah river, which, to this day, is called Indian land. This tribe had long been esteemed by the Carolinians as friends and allies. They admitted a number of traders into their town, and several times had assisted the settlers in their warlike enterprises.

For twelve months before the war broke out, the traders among the Yamassees observed that their chief warriors went frequently to St. Augustine, and returned loaded with presents. John Fraser, an honest Scotch highlander, who lived among the Yamassees and traded with them, had often heard these warriors tell with what kindness they had been treated at St. Augustine. One had received a hat, another a jacket, and a third a coat, all trimmed with silver lace. Some got hatchets, others knives, and almost all of them guns and ammunition. These warriors told Fraser that they dined with the Governor at St. Augustine, and that he was now their King, and not the Governor of Carolina.

About nine days before hostilities commenced, Sanute, an Indian warrior attached to Fraser's family, came to his house and told his wife that "the English were all wicked heretics,

and would go to hell, and that the Yamassees would also follow them if they suffered them to live in their country—that now the Governor of St. Augustine was their King—that there would be a terrible war with the English, and they only waited for the bloody stick to be returned from the Creeks before they began it." He told them that "the Yamassees, the Creeks, the Cherokees, and many other nations, together with the Spaniards, were all to engage in it, and advised them instantly to fly to Charlestown." Fraser, not a little astonished at the news, asked him how the Spaniards could go to war with the Carolinians while at peace with Great Britain? To which Sanute replied, the Spanish Governor told him that there would soon be a war with the English, and again advised him to fly with all expedition. Fraser still entertained doubts, but finally resolved to get of the way, and fled to Charlestown with his family and effects.

At the time in which this dark plot was to be put in execution, Captain Nairn, agent for Indian affairs, and many traders, resided at Pocotaligo, in a state of false security, in the midst of their enemies. The case of the scattered settlers on the frontier was equally lamentable, for they had no suspicions of danger. On the day before the Yamassees began their bloody operations, Captain Nairn, and some of the traders, observing an uncommon gloom on the countenances of the savages, went to their chief men, begging to know the cause of their uneasiness, and promising, if any injury had been done, to give them satisfaction. The chiefs replied they had no complaints to make against any one, but intended to go a hunting early the next morning. Captain Nairn accordingly went to sleep, and the traders passed the night in apparent tranquility. But next morning, about the break of day, being the 15th of April, 1715, all were alarmed with the cries of war. The leaders were under arms, calling upon their followers, and proclaiming aloud designs of vengeance. The young men flew to their arms, and in a few hours massacred above ninety persons in Pocotaligo and the neighboring plantations. Mr. Burrows, a Captain of militia, by swimming one mile and running ten, after he had received two wounds, escaped to Port Royal and alarmed the town. The inhabitants generally repaired on board a vessel in the harbor and sailed for Charlestown. But a few families fell into the hands of the savages, and by them were either murdered or made prisoners of war. While the Yamassees, with the Creeks and Apalachians, were advancing against the southern frontiers and spreading desolation and slaughter through the province, the colonists on the northern borders found the Indians down among the settlements in formidable parties. The Caroli-

nians had entertained hopes of the friendship of the Congarees, the Catawbas and Cherokees, but soon found that these nations had also joined in the conspiracy and declared for war. It was computed that the southern division of the enemy consisted of above six thousand bowmen, and the northern of between six hundred and a thousand. Every Indian tribe from Florida to Cape Fear River had joined in this confederacy for the destruction of the settlement. The dispersed planters had no force to withstand such numbers, but each consulting his own safety and that of his family, fled in great consternation to the capital. They who came in, brought the Governor such different accounts of the numbers and strength of the savages, that even the inhabitants of Charlestown were doubtful of their safety. The men in it were obliged to watch every third night. The most spirited measures were pursued both for offence and defence. In the muster roll there were no more than twelve hundred men fit to bear arms. The Governor proclaimed martial law, laid an embargo on all ships, and obtained an act of Assembly empowering him to impress men, arms, ammunition and stores, and to arm trusty negroes. Agents were sent to Virginia and England to solicit assistance—bills were stamped for the payment of the army and other necessary expenses. Robert Daniel was appointed Deputy Governor in town, and Charles Craven, at the head of the militia, marched to the country against the largest body of savages.

In the meantime the Indians on the northern quarter had made an inroad as far as the plantation belonging to John Kearne, about fifty miles from Charlestown, and entered his house apparently in a peaceable manner, but afterwards murdered him and every person in it. Thomas Barker, a Captain of militia, collected a party consisting of ninety horsemen, and advanced against the enemy; but was led by the treachery of an Indian guide into a dangerous ambuscade, where a large party of Indians lay concealed on the ground. Barker having advanced into the middle of them before he was aware of his danger, they sprung from their concealment and fired upon his men. The captain and several more fell at the first onset, and the remainder retreated. After this advantage, a party of four hundred Indians came down as far as Goose creek. Every family there had fled to town, except in one place where seventy white men and forty negroes had erected a breastwork and resolved to remain and defend themselves. When the Indians attacked them they were discouraged, and rashly agreed to terms of peace; having admitted the enemy within their works, this whole garrison was barbarously butchered. The Indians advanced still nigher to town, but meeting with

Captain Chicken and the Goose creek militia, they were obliged to retreat.

By this time the Yamassees, with their confederates, had spread destruction through the parish of St. Bartholomew, and advancing as far as Stono they burned the church at that place, together with every house on the plantations by the way. John Cochran, his wife and four children, Mr. Bray, his wife, two children, and six other persons, having found friends among them, were spared for some days, but while attempting to make their escape they were retaken and put to death. Such as had no friends among them were tortured in the most shocking manner. The indians made a halt in their progress to assist in tormenting their prisoners.

Governor Craven advanced against the enemy by slow and cautious steps. He knew well under what advantages they fought among their native thickets, and the various wiles and stratagems they made use of in conducting their wars, and therefore was watchful against sudden surprises. The fate of the whole province depended on the issue of the contest. His men had no alternative but to conquer, or die a painful death. As he advanced, the straggling parties fled before him until he reached Saltcatchers, where they had pitched their great camp. A sharp and bloody battle ensued. Bullets and arrows were discharged with destructive effect from behind trees and bushes. The Indians made the air resound with their horrid yellings and war-whoops. They sometimes gave way, but returned again and again with double fury to the charge. The Governor kept his troops close at their heels, and chased them from their settlement at Indian Land, until he drove them over Savannah river, and cleared the province entirely of this formidable tribe of savages. What number of his army or of the enemy was killed, we have not been able to learn, but in this Indian war four hundred innocent inhabitants of Carolina were murdered.

The Yamassees, after their defeat and expulsion, went to the Spanish territories in Florida, where they were received with bells ringing and guns firing, as if they had come victoriously from the field. This circumstance, together with the encouragement afterwards given them to settle in Florida, gave reason to believe that this horrid conspiracy was contrived by Spaniards, and carried on by their encouragement and assistance. From the lowest state of despondency Charlestown was suddenly raised to the highest pitch of joy. The Governor entered it with some degree of triumph, receiving from all, such applause as his courage, conduct and success justly merited. His prosperous expedition had not only disconcerted the most formidable conspiracy ever formed against

the colony, but also placed the inhabitants in a state of greater security than they had hitherto enjoyed. From this period the Yamassee Indians harbored the most inveterate rancour against all Carolinians. Being furnished with arms and ammunition from the Spaniards, they often sallied forth in small scalping parties, and infested the frontiers. One such caught William Hooper, and killed him by cutting off one part of his body after another till he expired. Another surprised Henry Quinton, Thomas Simmons, and Thomas Parmenter, and tortured them to death. Dr. Rose fell into their hands, whom they cut across his nose with a tomahawk, and left him scalped on the spot, apparently dead; but he happily recovered. The Spaniards of St. Augustine, disappointed in their design of extirpating the English settlement in Carolina, had now no other resource left but to employ the vindictive spirit of the Yamassees against the defenceless frontiers of the province. In these incursions they were too successful; many settlers at different times fell a sacrifice to their insatiable revenge.

About the year 1718 a scalping party penetrated as far as the Euhaw lands; where having surprised John Levit and two of his neighbors, they dispatched them with their tomahawks. They then seized Mrs. Borrows and one of her children, and carried them off. The child by the way began to cry, upon which they put him to death. The distressed mother being unable to restrain from tears on seeing her child murdered, was informed that she must not weep if she desired to live. Upon her arrival at Augustine she would have been immediately sent to prison; but one of the Yamassee Kings declared that he knew her from her infancy to be a good woman, and begged, but in vain, that she might be sent home to her husband. When Mr. Borrows went to Augustine to procure the release of his wife, he also was shut up in prison with her, where he soon after died; but she survived. On her return to Carolina she reported to Governor Johnson that the Huspah King, who had taken her prisoner, informed her that he had orders from the Spanish Governor to spare no white man, but to bring every negro alive to St. Augustine; and that rewards were given to Indians for their prisoners to encourage them to engage in such murderous and rapacious enterprises. At another time a large party of Indians moved towards Charlestown, and killed several of the inhabitants. A fort was constructed in haste at Wiltown into which the women and children were put, with a few old men, for their protection. The militia marched out to meet the Indians, but missed them. The Indians soon after appeared in force against this party, but finding they would meet with resistance left it to go against the plantations. Governor Craven at the head of a

body of militia fell in with these Indians near Stono Ferry, at the place where Lincoln, in June 1779, attacked the British troops under Provost. A general action took place, in which the Indians were entirely defeated. This was the last attempt of the Yamassees to disturb the white people to the southward of Charlestown. In a few years after the subjugation of the Yamassees, South Carolina became a royal province. The wise measures adopted by Sir Francis Nicholson, the first royal Governor, the treaties afterwards entered into with the Indians by Sir Alexander Cumming, the settlement of Georgia, and the judicious measures respecting the Indians adopted by General Oglethorpe, the Governors of Georgia and of South Carolina, together with the increasing strength of the white people, and the decreasing number of the Indians, all concurred in preserving peace with the savages, so far that for forty years subsequent to the Yamassee war in 1715, the peace of the province was preserved without any considerable or general interruption.

In the year 1752 South Carolina was nearly involved in an Indian war, but happily escaped. The Creeks having quarrelled with the Cherokees, took their revenge by killing a party of the latter near the gates of Charlestown. Some Creek warriors had also scalped a British trader. For these and other outrages, Governor Glen demanded satisfaction at a public congress held for the purpose. The Indians, by their orator Malatchee, apologized for their conduct in a speech that was deemed satisfactory, and peace was preserved.

The war between France and England, which commenced in 1754 or 1755, induced both nations to court the friendship of the Indians. The French were assiduous in connecting a chain of influence with the aborigines, from Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi. The British pursued a similar line of policy, but less extensive. Governor Glen held a treaty with the Cherokees in 1755, ostensibly to brighten the chain of friendship, but really to obtain a cession of their lands and a liberty to erect forts on the western frontier, as a barrier against the French on the southwest. Both were granted, as has already been related.

In the progress of the war the French were defeated in Canada, and compelled to abandon Fort Duquesne. After they had retreated from the latter down the Ohio, and the Missippi, they had the address to involve the Indians in a serious war with Carolina. By the reduction of Fort Duquesne, the scene of action was changed from Pennsylvania and Virginia to Carolina; and the influence of the French soon appeared among the upper tribes of Cherokees. An unfortunate quarrel with the Virginians helped to forward their designs. In the

successful expedition of 1758, against Fort Duquesne, the Cherokees had sent considerable parties of warriors to the assistance of the British army. While the savages were returning home from that expedition, through the back parts of Virginia, many of them having lost their horses took possession of such as came in their way. The Virginians, instead of asserting their rights in a legal manner, resented the injury by force of arms, and killed twelve or fourteen of these unsuspicious warriors. The Cherokees, with reason, were highly provoked at such ungrateful usage; and when they came home, gave a highly colored account thereof to their nation. They became outrageous. Those who had lost friends and relations resolved upon revenge. In vain did the chieftains interpose their authority. Nothing could restrain the ferocity of the young men. The emissaries of France among them added fuel to the flame, by declaring that the English intended to kill all the Indian men and make slaves of their wives and children. They inflamed their resentments—stimulated them to bloodshed, and furnished them with arms and ammunition to revenge themselves. Parties of young warriors took the field, and rushing down among the white inhabitants murdered and scalped all who came in their way.

The commanding officer at Fort Prince George despatched a messenger to Charlestown, to inform Governor Lyttleton that the Cherokees had commenced war. Orders were given to the commanders of the militia immediately to collect their men, and stand in a posture of defence. The militia of the country were directed to rendezvous at Congarees, where the Governor resolved to join them and march to the relief of the frontier settlements.

No sooner had the Cherokees heard of these warlike preparations, than thirty-two of their chiefs set out for Charlestown to settle all differences. Though they could not restrain some of their young men from acts of violence, yet the nation in general was inclined to friendship and peace. As they arrived before the Governor had set out on the intended expedition, a council was called; and the chiefs being sent for, Governor Lyttleton, among other things, told them "that he was well acquainted with all the acts of hostility of which their people had been guilty, and likewise those they intended against the English," and enumerated some of them. Then he added "that he would soon be in their country, where he would let them know his demands and the satisfaction he required, which he would certainly take if it was refused. As they had come to Charlestown to treat with him as friends, they should go home in safety and not a hair of their heads should be touched; but as he had many warriors in arms, in different

parts of the province, he could not be answerable for what might happen to them unless they marched with his army." After this speech was ended Occonostota, who was distinguished by the name of the great warrior of the Cherokee nation, began to speak by way of reply; but the Governor having determined that nothing should prevent his military expedition, declared "he would hear no talk in vindication of his nation, nor any proposals with regard to peace." This highly displeased the Indians.

In a few days after this conference the Governor set out for Congarees, where he mustered about fourteen hundred men. To this place the Cherokees marched with the army and were in appearance contented, but in reality burned with fury. When the army moved from the Congarees, the chieftains were all made prisoners. To prevent their escaping, as two had already done, a Captain's guard was mounted over them. Being not only deprived of their liberty, but compelled to accompany an enemy going against their families and friends, they no longer concealed the resentment raging in their breasts. Sullen looks and gloomy countenances, showed that they were stung to the heart by such treatment. Upon the arrival of the army at fort Prince George, the Indians were all shut up in a hut scarcely sufficient for the accommodation of six soldiers.

The army being not only poorly armed and disciplined, but also discontented and mutinous, it was judged dangerous to proceed farther into the enemy's country. The Governor sent for Attakullakulla, who was esteemed the wisest man of the nation, and the most steady friend of the English, to meet him at fort Prince George. This summons was promptly obeyed. On the 17th December, 1759, they held a congress, at which the Governor, in a long speech, stated to Attakullakulla the injuries done by the Cherokees to the white people, in violation of existing treaties—the power of the English—the weakness and many defeats of the French, and then concluded as follows: "These things I have mentioned to show you that the great King will not suffer his people to be destroyed without satisfaction, and to let you know that the people of this province are determined to have it. What I say is with a merciful intention. If I make war with you, you will suffer for your rashness; your men will be destroyed and your women and children carried into captivity. What few necessaries you now have, will soon be exhausted, and you will get no more. But if you give the satisfaction I shall ask, trade will be again opened and all things go right. I have twice given you a list of the murderers. I will now tell you there are twenty-four men of your nation whom I demand to

be delivered up to me to be put to death, or otherwise disposed of as I shall think fit. Your people have killed that number of ours and more; therefore it is the least I will accept of. I shall give you till to-morrow to consider of it, and then I shall expect your answer. You know best the Indians concerned. I expect the twenty-four you deliver up, will be those who have committed the murders."

To this long speech, Attakullakulla replied in words to the following effect: "That he remembered the treaties mentioned, as he had a share in making them. He owned the kindness of the province of South Carolina, but complained much of the bad treatment his countrymen had received in Virginia; which, he said, was the immediate cause of the present misunderstanding. That he had always been the warm friend of the English—that he would ever continue such, and would use all the influence he had to persuade his countrymen to give the Governor the satisfaction he demanded; though he believed it neither would nor could be complied with, as they had no coercive authority one over another. He desired the Governor to release some of the head men then confined in the fort to assist him, and added, "that he was pleased to hear of the success of his brothers, the English;" but could not help mentioning "that they showed more resentment against the Cherokees than they did to other nations who had disobliged them. That he remembered some years ago several white people belonging to Carolina were killed by the Choctaws, for whom no satisfaction had either been demanded or given."

Agreeably to the request of Attakullakulla, the Governor released Occonostota, Fiftoe, the chief man of Keowee town, and the head warrior of Estatoe, who next day delivered up two Indians, whom Mr. Lyttleton ordered to be put in irons. After which all the Cherokees present, who knew their connections to be weak, instantly fled; so that it was impossible to complete the number demanded. Attakullakulla being then convinced that peace could not be obtained on the terms demanded by the Governor, resolved to go home and patiently wait the event; but no sooner was Mr. Lyttleton made acquainted with his departure, than he dispatched a messenger after him to bring him back to his camp: and immediately on his return began to treat of peace. Accordingly a treaty was drawn up and signed by the Governor, by Attakullakulla, another chief, and four of the confined warriors, who, together with a few others, thereupon obtained their liberty. By one article of this treaty it was agreed "that twenty-six chieftains of the Cherokees should be confined in the fort as hostages, until the same number of Indians guilty of murder were de-

livered up to the Commander-in-Chief of the province. This was said to be done with their own consent; but as they were prisoners they could have no free choice. If they must remain confined, it was a matter of little moment under what denomination they were kept. One more Indian was delivered up, for whom one of the hostages was released. The three Indians, given up by their companions, were carried to Charlestown, where they died in confinement.

After having concluded this treaty with the Cherokees, the Governor returned to Charlestown. Perhaps the Indians who put their mark to these articles of agreement did not understand them, or conceived themselves to be so far under restraint as not to be free agents in the transaction, and therefore not bound by it. Whether either of these, or deliberate perfidy was the case, cannot be ascertained; but it is certain that few or none of the nation afterwards paid the smallest regard to it. The treacherous act of confining their chiefs, against whom no personal charge could be made, and who had traveled several hundred miles to obtain peace, was strongly impressed on their minds. Instead of permitting them to return home "without hurting a hair of their heads," as the Governor promised in Charlestown, they were confined in a miserable hut. It was said they were kept only as hostages until the number of criminals demanded was completed by their nation. It was also said to be done by the consent of the nation, as six of its chiefs had signed the articles of peace; but when the relative situation of the parties, and all circumstances are considered, nothing less could have been expected than that these wild and independent warriors would violate the articles they had signed, and retaliate for the confinement of their chiefs.

Scarcely had Governor Lyttleton concluded the treaty of fort Prince George, when the small pox, which was raging in an adjacent Indian town, broke out in his camp. As few of the army had gone through that distemper, the men were struck with terror and in great haste returned to the settlements, cautiously avoiding all intercourse with one another, and suffering much from hunger and fatigue by the way. The Governor followed them, and arrived in Charlestown on January 8th, 1760. This expedition cost the province £25,000 sterling. Though not a drop of blood had been spilt during the campaign, yet as articles of peace were signed, the Governor, as Commander-in-Chief, was received like a conqueror with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

These rejoicings on account of the peace were scarcely over, when news arrived that fresh hostilities had been committed, and that the Cherokees had killed fourteen men within a mile

of fort Prince George. The Indians had contracted an invincible antipathy to Captain Coytmore, the officer whom Governor Lyttleton had left commander of that fort. The treatment they had received at Charleston, but especially the imprisonment of their chiefs, converted their former desire of peace into the bitterest rage of war. Occonostota, a chieftain of great influence, became an implacable enemy to Carolina, and determined to repay treachery with treachery. With a strong party of Cherokees he surrounded fort Prince George, and compelled the garrison to keep within their works; but finding that no impression could be made on the fort, he contrived the following stratagem for the relief of his countrymen confined in it.

He placed a party of savages in a dark thicket by the river side, and then sent an Indian woman, whom he knew to be always welcome at the fort, to inform the commander that he had something of consequence to communicate and would be glad to speak with him at the river side. Captain Coytmore imprudently consented, and without any suspicions of danger, walked down towards the river, accompanied by Lieutenants Bell and Foster. Occonostota appearing on the opposite side, told him he was going to Charlestown to procure a release of the prisoners, and would be glad of a white man to accompany him as a safeguard. To cover his dark design he had a bridle in his hand, and added he would go and hunt for a horse. Coytmore replied that he should have a guard, and wished he might find a horse as the journey was very long. Upon which, the Indian turning about, swung the bridle thrice round his head as a signal to the savages placed in ambush, who instantly fired on the officers, shot the Captain dead, and wounded his two companions. In consequence of which, orders were given to put the hostages in irons to prevent any further danger from them. When the soldiers were attempting to execute these orders, the Indians stabbed one and wounded two more of them; upon which the garrison fell on the unfortunate hostages, and butchered all of them in a manner too shocking to relate.

There were few men in the Cherokee nation that did not lose a friend or a relation by this massacre, and therefore with one voice all immediately declared for war. The leaders in every town seized the hatchet, telling their followers "that the spirits of their murdered brothers were hovering around them and calling out for vengeance on their enemies." From the different towns large parties of warriors took the field, painted in the most formidable manner and arrayed with their instruments of death. Burning with impatience to imbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies, they rushed down

among innocent and defenceless families on the frontiers of Carolina; where men, women and children, without distinction, fell a sacrifice to their merciless fury. Such as fled to the woods and escaped the scalping knife, perished with hunger; and those whom they made prisoners were carried into the wilderness where they suffered inexpressible hardships. Every day brought fresh accounts of their ravages and murders. But while the back settlers impatiently looked to their Governor for relief, the small pox raged to such a degree on the sea coast, that few of the militia could be prevailed on to leave their distressed families. In this extremity an express was sent to General Amherst the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, acquainting him with the deplorable situation of the province and imploring his assistance. Accordingly a body of fine picked troops, consisting of six companies of the Royal Scots regiment, and six companies of the seventy-second, in which were included the grenadiers and light infantry companies of several regiments, was put under the command of Colonel Montgomery and ordered immediately to Carolina.

In the meantime William Henry Lyttleton being appointed Governor of Jamaica, the charge of the province devolved on William Bull. Application was made to the neighboring provinces of North Carolina and Virginia for relief. Seven troops of rangers were raised to protect the frontiers, and prevent the savages from penetrating further down among the settlements, and to co-operate with the regulars for carrying offensive operations into the Indian country.

Before the end of April, 1760, Colonel Montgomery landed in Carolina and encamped at Monk's Corner. Great was the joy of the province upon the arrival of this gallant officer; but as the conquest of Canada was the grand object of that year's campaign in America, he had orders to strike a sudden blow for the relief of Carolina and instantly return to headquarters at Albany. Nothing was omitted that was judged necessary to forward the expedition. Several gentlemen of fortune, excited by a laudable zeal for the safety of their country, formed themselves into a company of volunteers, and joined the army. The whole force of the province was collected and ordered to rendezvous at Congarees.

A few weeks after his arrival Colonel Montgomery marched to the Congarees where he was joined by the militia of the province, and immediately set out for the Cherokee country. Having little time allowed him, his march was uncommonly expeditious. After reaching a place called Twelve Mile river he proceeded with a party of his men in the night to surprise Estatoe, an Indian town, about twenty miles from his camp.

On his way there was another town called little Keowee. He ordered the light infantry to surround the latter, and to put every adult male Indian in it to the sword. He then proceeded to Estatoe which he found nearly abandoned. This town, which consisted of at least two hundred houses, and was well provided with corn, hogs, poultry, and ammunition, he reduced to ashes. Sugartown, and every other settlement in the lower nation, shared the same fate. The surprise to every one of them was nearly equal, and so sudden and unexpected, that the savages could scarcely save themselves, far less any little property they had. In these lower towns about sixty Indians were killed and forty made prisoners, and the rest driven to seek for shelter among the mountains. Having finished his business among these lower settlements, with the small loss of three or four men, he marched to the relief of fort Prince George. Edmund Atkin, agent for Indian affairs, dspatched two Indian chiefs to the middle settlements to inform the Cherokees that by suing for peace they might obtain it as the former friends and allies of Britain. Colonel Montgomery finding that the savages were not yet disposed to listen to any terms of accommodation, determined to carry the chastisement a little further. Dismal was the wilderness into which he entered, and many were the hardships and dangers he had to encounter from passing through dark thickets, rugged paths and narrow defiles, in which a small body of men properly posted might harrass the bravest army. He also had numberless difficulties to surmount; particularly from rivers fordable only at one place, and overlooked by high banks on each side, where an enemy might attack with advantage, and retreat with safety. When he had advanced within five miles of Etchoe, the nearest town in the middle settlements, he found a low valley covered so thick with bushes that the soldiers could scarcely see three yards before them. Through this natural ambuscade it was necessary for the army to march, though the nature of the place would not admit any number of men to act together. Captain Morison who commanded a company of rangers, well acquainted with the woods, was therefore ordered to advance and scour this thicket. He had scarcely entered it when a number of savages sprung from their place of concealment, killed the Captain and wounded several of his party. Upon which the light infantry and grenadiers advanced and charged the invisible enemy. A heavy fire then began on both sides, and for some time the soldiers could only discover the places where the savages were hid by the report of their guns. The woods resounded with Indian war-whoops and horrible yellings. During the action, which lasted above an hour, Col. Montgomery

had twenty men killed and seventy-six wounded. What number the enemy lost is uncertain, as it is a custom among them to carry their dead off the field. Upon viewing the ground, all were astonished to see with what judgment they had chosen it. Scarcely could the most experienced officer have fixed upon a spot more advantageous for attacking an enemy.

This action terminated much in favor of the British army, but reduced it to such a situation as made it very imprudent to penetrate further into the woods. Orders were therefore given for a retreat which was made with great regularity. A large train of wounded men was brought in safety above sixty miles through a hazardous country. Never did men endure greater hardships, with fewer complaints, than this little army. Colonel Montgomery returned to the settlement, and in August embarked for New York agreeably to his orders; but left four companies for covering the frontiers.

In the meantime the distant garrison of fort Loudon, consisting of two hundred men, was reduced to the dreadful alternative of perishing by hunger or submitting to the mercy of the enraged Cherokees. The Governor having information that the Virginians had undertaken to relieve it, waited to hear the news of their having done so. But so remote was the fort from every settlement, and so difficult was it to march an army through the barren wilderness where the various thickets were lined with enemies; and to carry at the same time sufficient supplies along with them, that the Virginians had relinquished all thoughts of even making the attempt. Provisions being entirely exhausted at fort Loudon, the garrison was reduced to the most deplorable situation. For a whole month they had no other subsistence but the flesh of lean horses and dogs, and a small supply of Indian beans which some friendly Cherokee women procured for them by stealth. In this extremity the Commander called a council of war to consider what was proper to be done. The officers were all of opinion that it was impossible to hold out any longer, and therefore agreed to surrender the fort to the Cherokees on the best terms that could be obtained. For this purpose Captain Stuart procured leave to go to Chotè, one of the principal towns in the neighborhood, where he obtained the following terms of capitulation which were signed by the Commanding officer and two of the Cherokee chiefs. "That the garrison of fort Loudon march out with their arms and drums, each soldier having as much powder and ball as their officer shall think necessary for their march, and all the baggage they may choose to carry. That the garrison be permitted to march to Virginia or fort Prince George, and that

a number of Indians be appointed to escort them and hunt for provisions during the march. That such soldiers as are lame or sick be received into the Indian towns, and kindly used until they recover, and then be allowed to return to fort Prince George. That the Indians provide for the garrison as many horses as they conveniently can for their march, agreeing with officers and soldiers for payment. That the fort, great guns, powder, ball, and spare arms, be delivered to the Indians without fraud or further delay on the day appointed for the march of the troops."

Agreeably to these terms the garrison delivered up the fort, and marched out with their arms, accompanied by Occonostota, the prince of Chotè, and several other Indians; and that day went fifteen miles on their way to fort Prince George. At night they encamped on a plain about two miles from Taliquo, an Indian town, when all their attendants left them. During the night they remained unmolested; but, next morning, about break of day a soldier, from an outpost, informed them that he saw a number of Indians, armed and painted in the most dreadful manner, creeping among the bushes and advancing to surround them. Scarcely had the officer time to order his men to stand to their arms, when the savages poured in upon them a heavy fire from different quarters, accompanied with the most hideous yellings. Captain Paul Demere, with three other officers, and about twenty-six private men, fell at the first onset. Some fled into the woods, and were afterwards taken prisoners and confined. Captain Stuart and those that remained were seized, pinioned, and brought back to fort Loudon. As soon as Attakullakulla heard that his friend Stuart had escaped, he hastened to the fort and purchased him from the Indian that took him; giving him his rifle, clothes, and all he could command by way of ransom. He then took possession of Captain Demere's house, where he kept his prisoner as one of his family, and freely shared with him the little provisions his table afforded, until a fair opportunity should offer for rescuing him from their hands: but the soldiers were kept in a miserable state of captivity for some time, and then redeemed by the province at a great expense.

While these prisoners were confined at fort Loudon, Occonostota formed a design of attacking fort Prince George; and for this purpose dispatched a messenger to the settlements in the valley, requesting all the warriors there to join him at Stickoey old town. By accident, a discovery was made of ten bags of powder, and of ball in proportion, which the officers had secretly buried in the fort to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This discovery had nearly proved fatal to Captain Stuart, and would certainly have cost him his life, if

the interpreter had not assured the enemy that these warlike stores had been concealed without his knowledge or consent. The Indians having now abundance of ammunition, for the seige, a council was called at Chotè; to which the captain was brought and put in mind of the obligations he lay under to them for sparing his life. They also stated to him, that as they had resolved to carry six cannon and two cohorns with them against fort Prince George, to be managed by men under his command, he must go and write such letters to the commandant as they should dictate to him. They informed him at the same time, that if that officer should refuse to surrender, they were determined to burn the prisoners one after another before his face, and try if he could hold out while he saw his friends expiring in the flames. Captain Stuart was much alarmed at his situation, and from that moment resolved to make his escape or perish in the attempt. He privately communicated his design to Attakullakulla, and told him how uneasy he was at the thoughts of being compelled to bear arms against his countrymen. The old warrior taking him by the hand, told him he was his friend. That he had already given one proof of his regard, and intended soon to give another. Strong and uncultivated minds often carry their friendship, as well as their enmity, to an astonishing pitch. Among savages, family friendship is a national virtue; and they not unfrequently surpass civilized men in the practice of its most self-denying, and noblest duties.

Attakullakulla claimed Captain Stuart as his prisoner, and had resolved to deliver him from danger. Accordingly he gave out among his countrymen, that he intended to go a hunting for a few days and carry his prisoner along with him to eat venison. Having settled all matters they set out on their journey, accompanied by the warrior's wife, his brother, and two soldiers. For provisions they depended on what they might kill by the way. The distance to the frontier settlements was great, and the utmost expedition necessary to prevent any surprise from Indians pursuing them. They traveled nine days and nights through a dreary wilderness, shaping their course for Virginia, by the light and guidance of the heavenly bodies. On the tenth they arrived at the banks of Holstein river, where they fortunately fell in with a party of 300 men, sent out by Colonel Bird, for the relief of such soldiers as might make their escape that way from fort Loudon.

It might now have been expected that the vindictive spirit of the savages would be satisfied, and that they would be disposed to listen to terms of accommodation. But this was not the case. They intended their treacherous conduct at fort Louden should serve as a satisfaction for the harsh treatment

their relations had met with at fort Prince George. Dearly had the province paid for the imprisonment and massacre of the Indian chiefs at that place. Sorely had the Cherokees suffered, in retaliation, for the murders they had committed to satisfy their vengeance for that imprisonment, and the massacre of their chiefs. Their lower towns had all been destroyed by Colonel Montgomery. The warriors in the middle settlements had lost many friends and relations. Several Frenchmen had crept in among the upper towns, and helped to foment their ill-humor against Carolina. Lewis Latinac, a French officer, persuaded the Indians that the English had nothing less in view than to exterminate them from the face of the earth; and furnishing them with arms and ammunition, urged them to war. At a great meeting of the nation he pulled out his hatchet, and striking it into a log of wood called out, "who is the man that will take this up for the King of France?" Salonè, the young warrior of Estatoe, instantly laid hold of it, and cried out, "I am for war. The spirits of our brothers who have been slain, still call upon us to avenge their death. He is no better than a woman that refuses to follow me." Many others seized the tomahawk and burned with impatience for the field.

Lieutenant Governor Bull, who well knew how little Indians were to be trusted, kept the Royal Scots and militia on the frontiers in a posture of defence, and made application a second time to General Amherst for assistance. Canada being now reduced, the Commander-in-Chief could the more easily spare a force adequate to the purpose intended. Lieutenant-Colonel James Grant, with a regiment from England, and two companies of light infantry from New York, received orders to embark for Carolina. Early in the year 1761, he landed at Charlestown, where he took up his winter quarters until the proper season should approach for taking the field.

In this campaign, the province exerted itself to the utmost. A provincial regiment was raised, and the command of it given to Colonel Middleton.* Presents were provided for the Indian allies, and several of the Chickesaws and Catawbas engaged to co-operate with the white people against the Cherokees. All possible preparations were quickly made for supplying the army with everything necessary for the expe-

* The other field officers were Henry Laurens, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Moultrie, Major. William Moultrie, Francis Marion, Isaac Huger, Andrew Pickens, Owen Roberts, Adam McDonald, James McDonald and William Wilson, served in this expedition, and were there trained to further and greater services in the cause of their country. They all served in the revolutionary war, and in the course of it, the four first were promoted to the rank of general officers. Bellamy Crawford, John Huger, Joseph Lloyd, John Lloyd and Thomas Savage, also served in this expedition; and afterwards in civil departments, in and after the revolution.

dition. Great had been the expense which this quarrel with the Cherokees had already occasioned. The Carolinians now flattered themselves that, by one resolute exertion, they would free the country from the calamities of war.

As soon as the Highlanders were in a condition to take the field, Colonel Grant set out for the Cherokee territories. After being joined by the provincial regiment and Indian allies, he mustered about 2,600 men. On the 27th of May, 1761, he arrived at fort Prince George; and, on the 7th of June, began his march from it, carrying with him provisions for thirty days. A party of ninety Indians, and thirty woodsmen, painted like Indians, under the command of Captain Quintine Kennedy, had orders to advance in front and scour the woods. When near to the place where Colonel Montgomery was attacked the year before, the Indian allies in front observed a large body of Cherokees posted upon a hill on the right flank of the army. An alarm was given. Immediately the savages rushing down began to fire on the advanced guard, which being supported repulsed them; but they recovered their heights. Colonel Grant ordered a party to march up the hills and drive the enemy from them. The engagement became general, and was fought on both sides with great bravery. The situation of the troops was in several respects deplorable, fatigued by a tedious march in rainy weather—surrounded with woods so that they could not discern the enemy—galled by the scattering fire of savages who, when pressed, always fell back, but rallied again and again. No sooner was any advantage gained over them in one quarter than they appeared in another. While the attention of the commander was occupied in driving the enemy from their lurking place on the river's side, his rear was attacked; and so vigorous an effort made for the flour and cattle, that he was obliged to order a party back to the relief of the rear-guard. From 8 o'clock in the morning until 11, the savages continued to keep up an irregular and incessant fire; sometimes from one place, and sometimes from another, while the woods resounded with hideous war-whoops frequently repeated, but in different directions. At length the Cherokees gave way and were pursued. What loss they sustained in this action is unknown, but of Colonel Grant's army there were between fifty and sixty killed and wounded. Orders were given not to bury the slain, but to sink them in the river to prevent their being dug up from their graves and scalped. To provide horses for those that were wounded, several bags of flour were thrown into the river. After which the army proceeded to Etchoe, a large Indian town, which they reached about midnight, and next day reduced to ashes. Every other town in the middle settle-

ments shared the same fate. Their magazines and cornfield were likewise destroyed; and the miserable savages, with their families, were driven to seek for shelter and provisions among the barren mountains.

Colonel Grant continued thirty days in the heart of the Cherokee territories. Upon his return to fort Prince George the feet and legs of many of his men were so mangled, and their strength and spirits so exhausted, that they were unable to march any further. He therefore encamped at that place to refresh his men, and wait the resolutions of the Cherokees in consequence of the heavy chastisement which they had received. Besides the many advantages their country afforded for defence, it was supposed they had been assisted by French officers. The savages supported their attack for some hours with considerable spirit; but being driven from their advantageous posts they were disconcerted. Though the repulse was far from being decisive, yet after this engagement they returned no more to the charge, but remained the tame spectators of their towns in flames and their country laid desolate.

It is no easy matter to describe the distress to which the savages were reduced by this severe correction. Even in time of peace they are destitute of that foresight which provides for future events; but in time of war, when their villages are burnt and their fields destroyed, they are reduced to extreme want. The hunters, furnished with ammunition, may make some small provision for themselves; but women, children, and old men must perish from being deprived of the means of subsistence.

Soon after Colonel Grant's arrival at fort Prince George, Attakullakulla, attended by several chieftains, came to his camp and expressed a desire of peace. They had suffered severely for breaking their alliance with Britain, and giving ear to the promises of France. Convinced at last of the weakness of the French, who were neither able to assist them in time of war nor to supply their wants in time of peace, they resolved to renounce all connection with them. Accordingly terms of peace were drawn up and proposed. The different articles being read and interpreted Attakullakulla agreed to them all except one, by which it was demanded "that four Cherokee Indians be delivered up to Colonel Grant at fort Prince George to be put to death in the front of his camp; or that four green scalps be brought to him in the space of twelve nights." The warrior could not agree to this article, and therefore the Colonel sent him to Charlestown to see whether the Lieutenant-Governor would consent to mitigate its rigor.

Accordingly Attakullakulla, and the chieftains being furnished with a safeguard, set out for Charlestown to hold a

conference with Lieutenant-Governor Bull, who, on their arrival, called a Council to meet at Ashley ferry, and then spoke to the following effect: "Attakullakulla I am glad to see you, as I have always heard of your good behavior, and that you have been a good friend to the English. I take you by the hand, and not only you, but all those with you, as a pledge for their security whilst under my protection. Colonel Grant acquaints me that you have applied for peace. I have therefore met with my beloved men to hear what you have to say, and my ears are open for that purpose." A fire was kindled, the pipe of peace was lighted, and all smoked together for some time in great silence and solemnity.

Attakullakulla then arose and addressed the Lieutenant-Governor and Council to the following effect: "It is a great while since I last saw your honor. I am glad to see you and all the beloved men present. I am come to you as a messenger from the whole nation. I have now seen you, smoked with you, and hope we shall live together as brothers. When I came to Keowee, Colonel Grant sent me to you. You live at the water side and are in light, we are in darkness; but hope all will yet be clear. I have been constantly going about doing good, and though I am tired, yet I am come to see what can be done for my people who are in great distress." Here he produced the strings of wampum he had received from the different towns, denoting their earnest desire of peace, and added, "as to what has happened, I believe it has been ordered by our father above. We are of a different color from the white people. They are superior to us. But one God is father of all, and we hope what is past will be forgotten. God Almighty made all people. There is not a day but some are coming into and others going out of the world. The great King told me the path should never be crooked, but open for every one to pass and repass. As we all live in one land, I hope we shall all love as one people." After which peace was formally ratified and confirmed. The former friendship of the parties being renewed, both expressed their hope that it would last as long as the sun shines and the rivers run.

Thus ended the war with the Cherokees, which had proved ruinous to them, and seriously distressful to South Carolina, without being advantageous or honorable to the contending parties. Nothing was gained by either, and a great deal was lost by both. In the review of the whole, there is much to blame, and more to regret. The Cherokees were the first aggressors by taking horses from the Virginians; but by killing them for that offence the balance of injury was on their side. They violated the laws of natural justice by retaliating on Carolinians for murders committed by Virginians; but ac-

cording to their code, the whites of both were identified as objects of retaliation. No pains had been taken to teach them better by their neighbors, who enjoyed the superior benefits of civilization and of christianity. When the storm of war was ready to burst on their heads they sent their messenger of peace to apologize, explain, and negotiate for the unauthorized murders of their lawless young warriors; but they were not heard, nor even suffered to speak. Governor Lyttleton, unwilling to be balked of his military expedition, marched with his army into their country with these messengers of peace in his train; ostensibly for their safety, and with a promise that a hair of their heads should not be hurt, but really as hostages for their countrymen; and they were afterwards, without any personal fault, confined as such till twenty-four of their nation should be delivered up to expiate by their death for the murder of the Carolinians. If this demand was right, it was of that too rigid kind which hardens into wrong. Compliance with it was impossible; for no such coercive power could be exercised over these wild and independent warriors, under their feeble system of loose government. A treaty was nevertheless made to that effect, but under circumstances that its observance could not be expected. Treachery begat treachery, and murder produced murder. The lives of these men who came originally as messengers of peace, though afterwards retained as hostages, were barbarously taken away without any fault of theirs, other than their obeying the laws of nature in resisting a military order for putting their persons in irons. A deadly hatred, and a desolating war was the consequence. Both exerted all their energies to inflict upon the opposite party the greatest possible amount of distress. The war, after incalculable mischief was done to both parties, ended in peace; but the hatred of the Cherokees to Carolina continued to rankle in their hearts. In about fifteen years after it broke out, under the auspices of the same John Stuart before mentioned, to the great distress of Carolina in its revolutionary war with Great Britain, which shall be related hereafter.

The treaty made by Sir Alexander Cumming with the Cherokees in 1730, had preserved peace between them and Carolina for thirty years. It is highly probable that moderation on the part of Governor Lyttleton would have prevented its interruption to any great extent, and most certainly the horrid scenes which have just been reviewed. The assumption of a high-toned spirit of decision on his part, carried to extremes against ignorant savages, unrestrained by social order and the precepts of religion, together with their vindictive temper and indiscriminate mode of retaliating for injuries received, produced a chain of great and reciprocal distress. The first link

of this was the petty theft of a few Virginian horses, for necessary purposes; and the last, the ruin of the Cherokee nation, the desolation of populous settlements and the murder of many Carolinians. A review of the whole demonstrates that civilized people, as well as savages, show more sound policy as well as true wisdom in abating of their just demands to a certain extent than in urging complete and peremptory satisfaction for injuries received with too high a hand, and beyond the point of moderation.

In proportion as the province increased in the number of white inhabitants, its danger from the savage tribes grew less alarming. But to prevent any molestation from Indians, and to establish the peace of the colonies on the most lasting foundation, his Brittannic Majesty, by his proclamations after the peace of 1763, took care to fix the boundaries of their hunting lands in as clear a manner as the nature of the country would admit. No settlements were allowed to extend any further backward, upon the Indian territories, than the sources of those great rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean; and all British subjects who had settled beyond these limits were ordered to remove. All private subjects were prohibited from purchasing lands from Indians; but if the latter should at any time be inclined to dispose of their property, it must, for the future, be offered to the King by the general consent of the nation, and at a public assembly held by British Governors for that purpose. All traders were obliged to take out licenses from their respective Governors for carrying on commerce with the Indians.

The French and Spaniards having by the treaty of 1763 ceded to Great Britain all their territories in the vicinity of South Carolina, nothing further was necessary than to guard the provinces against the dangers arising from the savages. It was thought proper that a superintendent of Indian affairs should be appointed for the Southern, as well as the Northern district of America. This office was given to Captain John Stuart, who was in every respect well qualified for it. The Assembly not only thanked him for his good conduct and great perseverance at fort Loudon, but rewarded him with £1,500 currency, and recommended him to the Governor as a person worthy of preferment in the service of the province. After his commission arrived, the Carolinians promised themselves for the future great tranquility and happiness. Plans of lenity were likewise adopted by government with respect to the Indian tribes, and cautions were taken to guard them against oppression and prevent any rupture with them. Experience had shown that rigorous measures, such as humbling them by force of arms, though expensive and attended with the

sacrifice of lives, were seldom accompanied with any good effects. Such treatment rendered the savages cruel, suspicious and distrustful, prepared them for renewing hostilities, and kept alive their ferocious warlike spirit.

It was thought that by treating Indians with gentleness and humanity, they would by degrees lose their savage spirit, and become civilized; and instead of implacable enemies, ever bent on destruction, they might eventually be rendered useful and beneficial allies.

The British government adopted this line of government after the peace of 1763. The result in some degree justified their expectations, till the revolutionary war commenced. The same ambitious cruel policy which had formerly led the Spaniards and French to set the Indians on the English settlements was then adopted by the English against their own colonists, even before they had resolved on independence. The same ruinous consequences followed. The poor unfortunate misled Indians became once more the victims of their own folly, in suffering themselves to be employed as tools to forward the ambitious views of foreign powers; as shall be hereafter explained.

The Indians on the continent of America, who were at the time of its discovery a numerous and formidable people, have since that period been constantly decreasing. For this rapid depopulation many reasons have been assigned. It is well known that population everywhere keeps pace with the means of subsistence. The Indians being driven from their possessions near the sea, as the settlements progressed, were robbed of many of the necessaries of life, particularly of oysters, crabs and fish, with which the maritime parts furnished them in great abundance, and on which they must have chiefly subsisted, as is apparent from a view of their camps still remaining near the sea-shore. As their territorities have been gradually circumscribed by narrower bounds, the means of subsistence derived from game have become proportionably less. The provisions they raise by planting, even in the best seasons, are scanty; but in case of a failure of crops, or of their fields being destroyed, numbers of them perished by famine. The first European settlers soon discovered their natural passion for war, and turned the fury of one tribe against another, with a view to save themselves. When engaged in hostilities they always fought, not so much to humble and conquer, as to exterminate and destroy. The British, the French, and Spanish nations, having planted colonies in their neighborhood, a rivalship for influence over them took place. Each nation, having its allies among the savages, was indefatigable in instigating them against the colonies of every other Euro-

pean nation, and against its Indian allies. Hence a series of bloody and destructive wars have been carried on among these rude tribes, as instruments of the pride and ambitition of European sovereigns, which, though waged without any national object or interest on the part of the Indians, was conducted with all the rage and rancour of implacable enemies bent on the destruction of each other in defence of their nearest connections and dearest rights.

But famine and war, however destructive, were not the only causes of their rapid decay. The small pox frequently proved exceedingly fatal. But of all other causes, the introduction of spirituous liquors among them has been the most destructive. Excess and intemperance not only undermined their constitution, but also created many quarrels. Most of the white traders engaged in commercial business among the Indians, instead of reforming them by examples of virtue and purity, have rather served to corrupt their morals and render them more treacherous and debauched than they originally were. The avarice and ambition of the professors of Christianity have so far debased the pristine habits and stern virtues of hardy, free and independent savages, that the few who now remain have lost in a great measure their primitive character. The vices of white people, falsely called Christians, and the diseases the consequences of the vices caught by the contaminating intercourse of such, have so nearly exterminated the native original owners of the soil, that many nations formerly populous are extinct, and their names entirely forgotten.

The principal tribes in or near to South Carolina are the Cherokees, the Catawbas, the Creeks, the Chickesaws and Choctaws.

The Cherokees, till the revolutionary war, continued to inhabit that western part of South Carolina which now forms Pendleton and Greenville districts. Having taken part with the British in that contest, they drew upon themselves the resentment of the State; and were so far subdued by its troops that they were obliged by treaty, on the 20th May, 1777, to cede to South Carolina all their lands eastward of the Unacaye mountains. They now reside beyond the mountains, and are inconsiderable both in number and force.

Of twenty-eight tribes of Indians which inhabited South Carolina in 1670, when it began to be settled by white people, twenty-six have entirely disappeared. The Cherokees are permitted, during good behaviour, to reside on the west side of the Oconee mountains. The Catawbas alone have continued in the State to the present time. They occupy fifteen miles square, situated on each side of the Catawba river, near the borders of North Carolina. They mustered 1,500 fighting

men at the first settlement of the province; but at present their warriors do not exceed sixty, and the whole of their nation is scarcely two hundred. These have degenerated from the hardiness of the Indian character, and are so generally addicted to habits of indolence and intoxication, that they are fast sinking into insignificance.

The Creeks inhabit a fine country on the southwest, between four and five hundred miles distant from Charlestown, and the number of both the upper and lower nations does not exceed two thousand gun-men. The Chickasaw towns lie about six hundred miles due west from Charlestown; but the nation cannot send three hundred warriors to the field. The Choctaws are at least seven hundred miles west and southwest from Charlestown, and have between three and four thousand gun-men.

SECTION III.

Military Operations against Pirates.

The Spaniards and Indians were the first, but not the only enemies of the infant settlement of South Carolina. When the early settlers had made head against both, and raised merchantable commodities for exportation, they had little more than began to ship the same than they were deprived of the fruits of their labors by public robbers on the contiguous ocean. From privateering to piracy the transition is easy. Both rob their fellow men of their property, but with this difference: the first are licensed, but the last are not. The distinction is more in name than reality, for they who give the licenses are seldom authorized by the laws of nature or of nature's God to grant them. They who receive them rarely pay regard to the limitations under which they are obtained. Property, whether of a friend or a foe, of a countryman or a foreigner, is alike to most of them; provided, by any artifice, it can be taken with impunity.

The wars which raged in the close of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, made lamentable inroads on moral principles. They filled the American seas with privateers and afterwards with pirates. These public robbers were received with too much indulgence in Charlestown. They brought with them abundance of gold and silver, and by aid of these precious metals often found favor and escaped from justice. Proofs of their guilt could not easily be obtained, and the humanity of the laws would not suffer them to be punished on suspicion. Some were permitted to go at large without any restriction; others to enter into recognizance, with security, for their good behavior till the Governor shall hear whether the proprietors would grant them a general indemnity. The proprie-

tors, wishing to crush them, instructed Governor Ludwell to change the form of electing juries; and required that all pirates should be tried by the laws of England, made for the suppression of piracy. Before these orders reached Carolina the pirates, by their money and free intercourse with the people, had made so many friends that it was difficult to bring them to trial, and more so to punish them. The courts of law became scenes of altercation and confusion. The gold and silver of pirates enlisted in their behalf the eloquence of the first gentlemen of the bar; too many of whom held that every advantage, though at the expense of honor, justice, public good, and even of truth, should be taken in favor of their clients. Hence it happened that several of the pirates escaped,* purchased lands, and took up their residence in the colony. The authority of government was too feeble to check the evil, supported as it was by a tide of money flowing into the country. At length the proprietors, to gratify the people, granted an indemnity to all the pirates with the exception of such as had committed depredations on the dominions of the great Mogul.

The Carolinians, by the increasing culture of rice and other valuable commodities, became more vulnerable on the ocean, and of course more sensible of the benefits of uninterrupted trade, and of the injury done to mankind by sea robbers. In the last year of the 17th century, the planters had raised more rice than they could find vessels to export. Forty-five persons from different nations, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Portuguese, and Indians, had manned a ship at the Havana, and entered on a cruise of piracy. While they were on the coast of Carolina the people felt severely the pernicious effects of that lawless trade which in former times they had indirectly encouraged. Several ships belonging to Charlestown were taken by those public robbers who sent the crews ashore, but kept the vessels as their prizes. At last, having quarrelled among themselves about the division of the spoil, the Englishmen proving the weaker party, were turned adrift in a long boat. They landed at Sewee Bay, and from thence traveled over land to Charlestown, giving out that they had been shipwrecked, but fortu-

* These frustrations of justice added to the wealth and reputation of the lawyers, whose ingenuity had thrown a shield over guilt; but they inflicted a deep wound on the credit and interests of Carolina. The subjects of his Catholic Majesty, who were the greatest sufferers by the pirates, not only complained of the Carolinians for screening these enemies of the human race, but retaliated by instigating the Indians to harrass the English settlers, and by tempting their negroes to leave their masters and go to St. Augustine. The Spaniards apologized for their conduct by alleging that the inhabitants of Charlestown countenanced and encouraged the pirates, by permitting them to carry into their port and spend in their town that wealth which had been unjustly taken from Spanish subjects in the adjacent gulf and ocean, which was the thoroughfare between old and new Spain.

nately reached the shore in their boat. Three masters of ships happened to be at Charlestown at the time, who had been taken by them, and knew them. Upon their testimony the pirates were instantly taken up, tried and condemned. Seven out of nine suffered death.

Early in the 18th century, the island of Providence became a receptacle for vagabonds and villains of all nations. From this place of rendezvous a crew of desperate pirates had been accustomed to push out to sea, and in defiance of the laws of nations to obstruct navigation. The trade of Carolina, and that of the West Indies, suffered greatly from their depredations. From the year 1717 to 1721, we have an account of between thirty and forty vessels which had been taken on that coast. For five years those lawless robbers reigned as the masters of the Gulf of Florida, plundering and taking ships of every nation. North Carolina had also become a refuge for pirates, who carried their prizes into Cape Fear river or Providence, as best suited their convenience. Their success induced bold and rapacious spirits to join them, and in time they became so formidable that considerable force was requisite to repress them.

Merchants and masters of vessels trading to America and the West Indies, having suffered much from the depredations of pirates, complained to the King and Council of the heavy losses the trade of the nation had sustained from public robbers who had grown numerous and insolent. In consequence of which the King issued a proclamation, promising a pardon to all pirates who should surrender themselves in the space of twelve months, and at the same time ordered to sea a force for suppressing them. As they had made the island of Providence their common place of residence, Captain Woodes Rogers sailed against that island with a few ships of war, and took possession of it for the Crown. Except one Vane, who with about ninety men made their escape in a sloop, all the pirates took the benefit of the King's proclamation and surrendered. Captain Rogers having made himself master of the island, formed a Council in it, and appointed officers, civil and military, for the better government of its inhabitants, and so ordered matters that for the future the trade of the West Indies was well protected.

Though the pirates on the island of Providence were crushed, those of North Carolina still remained and were equally troublesome. Vane, who escaped from Captain Rogers, had taken two ships bound from Charlestown to London. A pirate sloop of ten guns, commanded by Steed Bonnett, and another commanded by Richard Worley, had taken possession of the mouth of Cape Fear river, which place was now the principal

refuge of the pirates. Their station there was so convenient for blocking up the harbor of Charlestown that the trade of the colony was greatly obstructed. No soonor had one crew left the coast than another appeared, so that scarcely one ship coming in or going out escaped them. To check their insolence, Governor Johnson fitted out a ship of force, gave the command to William Rhett, and sent him to sea for the protection of trade. Rhett had scarcely got over the bar when Steed Bonnett spied him, and sensible of his inferiority made for his refuge into Cape Fear river. Thither Rhett followed him, took the sloop and brought the commander and about thirty men to Charlestown. Soon after this Governor Johnson embarked and sailed in pursuit of the other sloop of six guns, commanded by Richard Worley, which after a desperate engagement was also taken. The pirates fought till they were all killed or wounded except Worley and another man, who even then refused to surrender until they were dangerously wounded. The Governor brought these two men, together with their sloop into Charlestown, where they were instantly tried, condemned, and executed, to prevent their dying of their wounds. Steed Bonnett and his crew were also tried, and condemned. With the exception of one man, all, amounting nearly to forty, were hanged, and buried on White Point, below high water mark.*

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* Steed Bonnett, who suffered on this occasion, was said to have been a man of education and property, and to have possessed the manners and accomplishments of a gentleman. He was addressed by the title of Major. He made his escape from prison in women's clothes, but was retaken. After his condemnation he wrote a letter to Colonel Rhett, which has been preserved, and by the politeness of Judge Bee is in the hands of the author. It was as follows:

NOVEMBER 27th, 1718.

SIR:—My unhappy fate lays me under a necessity of troubling you with this letter, which I humbly beg you will be pleased to excuse, and with a tenderness of heart compassionate the deplorable circumstances I have been inadvertently led into; and though I can't presume to have the least expectations of your friendship for so miserable a man, yet I hope your good dispositon and kind humanity will move you to become an intercessor with his honor the Governor, that I may be indulged with a reprieve to stay execution of the severe sentence I have undergone, till his majesty's pleasure be known concerning me.

I have the misfortune of suffering, in the opinion of the world for many crimes and injuries done to this government and others in a piratical manner; more than I hope, God the knower of all secrets, will lay to my charge; and must intreat you to consider that I was a prisoner on board Captain Edward Thatch, who, with several of Captain Hornigold's company which he then belonged to, boarded and took my sloop from me at the island of Providence, confining me with him eleven months, in which time I was never concerned in, nor had any benefit or share by his actions, but on the contrary was a very great loser by him; notwithstanding 'tis unjustly by some believed otherwise and used as an aggravation of my offences; however, I can't but confess my crimes and sins have been too many, for which, I thank my gracious God for the blessing, I have the utmost abhorrence and aversion; and although I am become as it were a monster unto many, yet I intreat your charitable opinion of my great contrition and godly sorrow for the errors of my past life, and am so far from entertaining the least thoughts of being, by any inducement in nature, drawn into the like evil and wicked

Governor Johnson, formerly a popular man, was now become more so by his bold and successful expedition against the pirates. The coast was now happily cleared, and no pirates afterwards ventured to sea in that quarter. These two expeditions cost the province upwards of ten thousand pounds sterling, a burden which at this juncture it was ill qualified to support.

In addition to the wars which have been stated, Carolina, as an appendage to Great Britain, was implicated in all her wars. These occupied forty years of the 106 of its colonial existence. Its trade was so materially injured from frequent captures made by armed vessels of France and Spain, that its staple commodities were greatly reduced in price whenever either of these nations were at war with Great Britain. This unfortunately was the case more than one-third of the whole period between the first settlement of South Carolina, and its becoming an independent State.

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courses, if I had the happiness of a longer life granted me in this world, that I shall always retain in mind, and endeavor to follow those excellent precepts of our holy Savior—to love my neighbor as myself; and do unto all men whatsoever I would they should do unto me, living in perfect holy friendship and charity with all mankind. This I do assure you, sir, is the sincerity of my heart upon the word of a penitent Christian, and my only desire of enjoying such a transient being is, that it may for the future be consecrated to the service of my maker, and by a long and unfeigned repentance I may beseech Almighty God, of his infinite mercy, to pardon and remit all my sins, and enable me to live a holy religious life, and make satisfaction to all persons whom I have any ways injured.

I don't doubt but the favor of your friendship and interest in the House of Commons may prevail on his honor to indulge me with a reprieve, if you'll be so charitable as to grant it me; which I presume to hope for, not only in tender regard of so many men having already suffered, and of my hearty and sincere repentance with full purposes of amendment of life; but in consideration of the securities and promises of favor I received from Colonel Rhett, which together with the joy I conceived of having an opportunity safely to disengage myself from all such wicked people and inhumane actions, made me the sole instrument of persuading those people to deliver themselves and arms up, which took me near twenty-four hours time and trouble to do after the engagement was over, when I knew what the two sloops were that Colonel Rhett commanded. By which means I saved the great effusion of blood which must infallibly have been spilt by these rash people, had they received Colonel Rhett's company on board, and blown us all up as they threatened, which I found much difficulty to persuade them from doing. This is what Colonel Rhett and many of his officers on board can testify.

I must confess the escape I attempted might justly increase and aggravate his honor and the government against me, for which I ask his and their pardon, and should not in the least have offered it, had not nature, as I believe it will in any man under the same circumstances, prompted me to evade, if possible, so horrid a sentence, by endeavoring to get to some private settlement and continue there till my friends could apply home for his majesty's gracious pardon.

I am fearful I have been too tedious already; therefore, shall not further trouble you than once more to repeat my earnest entreaty for your charitable favor, and to assure you that it will ever heartily devote me to your service, and oblige me always gratefully to acknowledge myself,

Sir, your most obliged, and unfortunate humble servant,
STEED BONNETT.

CHAPTER VI.

The Settlement of the Back Country.

Settlements as early as 1736 had partially progressed westward, from the sea coast, about eighty or ninety miles.* Between 1750 and 1760 two or three germs of settlement were planted 200 miles from Charlestown by emigrants from Pennsylvania and Virginia, who had advanced from north to south and in front of the eastern settlers.

Between the sea-coast settlements, and those to the westward, a considerable tract of country was for several years left in the undisturbed possession of the aborigines. These and several other circumstances, sanctioned an early distinction between the upper and lower country of South Carolina. In 1750, Colonel Clark emigrated from Virginia and settled on Pacotet river. In the course of six years he was joined by eight or ten families from Pennsylvania, all of whom settled on or near Fair Forest creek, or the three forks of Tyger river. These constituted the whole white population of that part of the province in 1755. In that year Braddock was defeated; and the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, were exposed to so much danger from the French at Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, and the Indians attached to them, that their inhabitants were strongly inclined to move southwardly. In the same year Governor Glen made a treaty with the

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* Two classes of people generally advanced in front of the regular settlers or cultivators of the soil. These were the owners of cowpens, and traders with the Indians. An uncultivated country covered with canes and natural grasses, possessed many advantages for raising stock. These were greatest where the settlements were least. Central spots in which cattle might be occasionally rallied, and so far domesticated as to prevent their running wild, were sought for and improved. These were often located in front of the settlements, and were called cowpens. They did not interfere with the pursuits of the natives, and therefore seldom gave offence; though they were sometimes observed with jealousy as the precursors of settlement.

Traders advanced without ceremony into the heart of Indian settlements. Speculative men have drawn comparisons between savage and civilized life, highly colored in favor of the former. Their theories have been acted upon ever since the discovery of America, by individuals who, turning their backs upon civilized society, have voluntarily chosen a residence among the Indians. Of this description there were several who at an early day had settled among the Indians at a great distance from the white people. Anthony Park, one of the first settlers of the back country, who now lives in Newberry district, traveled in 1758 a few hundred miles among the Indians to the west of the Alleghany mountains. He found several white men, chiefly Scotch or Irish who said that they had lived as traders among the Indians twenty years; a few from forty to fifty, and one sixty years. One of these said that he had upwards of seventy children and grandchildren in the nation. If these accounts are correct, the oldest of these traders must have taken up his abode among the Indians 400 miles to the west of Charlestown before the close of the 17th century when the white population of Carolina scarcely extended twenty miles from the sea coast.

Cherokee Indians, by which much of what is now called the upper country was ceded to the King of Great Britain. Both events allured settlers to the western parts of South Carolina.

In the year 1756 Patrick Calhoun, with four families of his friends, settled on Long Cane in Abbeville. On his arrival there were only two families of white settlers, one named Gowdy the other Edwards, in that southwestern extremity of the upper country. The progress of settlement which commenced in or about 1750 was so very slow, for five years, that in the beginning of 1756, the whole number of families scarcely exceeded twenty. In that and the three following years, there was a great influx of inhabitants from the middle provinces. Carolina, though nominally at war, really enjoyed all the blessings of peace, while hostilities raged in the northern and middle provinces, and their frontiers were drenched in blood shed by the savage allies of France. The recent settlers in the upper country of Carolina, who had fled from Indian massacres in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, in the three years that followed Braddock's defeat, found that in the year 1759 they were involved in calamities similar to those from which they had escaped. The reduction of Fort Duquesne in 1758 gave the blessings of peace to the middle provinces, but entailed the miseries of war* on South Carolina. The origin of Cherokee hostilities in 1759, has been explained in the last chapter. It is here only necessary to observe that its operations in that, and the two or three following years, stunted the growth of the upper country. Several flourishing settlements were broke up. Some took to Forts, others abandoned the country, and no new settlers would venture into it. These calamities were done away by the peace of Paris in 1763, and from that period the settlements recommenced with increasing vigor. The influx of inhabitants was greater than ever, and the population was advanced with gigantic strides. Unalloyed good is not the lot of man. The war was ended,

* A few facts attested by an eye witness will give some faint idea of the sufferings of the frontier settlers. A young man was shot through the body and through the thigh, one of his arms was broke, and he was scalped. A tomahawk was stuck into his head. The muscles of his neck were so far divided that his chin lodged on his breast, and several arrows were shot into his body. In this condition after he had extracted the arrows, he walked twenty miles before he could get any assistance. Another was found wounded in the woods where he had lain nine days without bread or water, incapable of helping or even of moving himself. An attempt was made to move him but he instantly expired. When settlements were attacked by the Indians, some would escape. These would conceal or lose themselves in the woods. In this condition they have been known to wander two or three weeks, living on snakes and such articles of food as the woods afforded. Several who were scalped, and otherwise badly wounded, had the good fortune to recover; though they received no aid from regular physicians or surgeons. Women and children were oftener the subjects of these barbarities than men, for the latter by resistance for the most part obtained the superior boon of being killed outright.

but the consequences of it continued. It had tainted the principles of many of the inhabitants, so as to endanger the peace and happiness of society. When settlements were broke up, industry was at an end. The prospects of reaping were so faint, that few had the resolution to sow. Those who took up their residence in Forts had nothing to do. Idleness is the parent of every vice. When they sallied out they found much property left behind by others who had quitted their homes. To make use of such derelict articles did not appear to them in the odious colors of theft. Cattle were killed—horses were sold—household furniture, and plantation tools were taken into possession in violation of private rights. The wrong-doers lived easily at the expense of the absentees, and acquired such vicious habits that when the war was over they despised labor and became pests of society. To steal was easier than to work. The former was carried on extensively, and the latter rarely attempted. Among all kinds of theft none was so easy in execution, so difficult in detection, and at the same time so injurious in its consequences, as horse-stealing. On the labors of that useful animal, the cultivators of the soil depended for raising the provisions necessary for their support. A horse when grazing is as easily caught by a thief, as by his owner; and will as readily carry the one as the other to a distance where he might be sold or exchanged, to the serious injury of an helpless family. Practices of this kind became common, and were carried on by system and in concert with associates living remote from each other. The industrious part of the community were oppressed, and the support of their families endangered.

These difficulties were increased from an inefficient system of government. If the thieves were caught, they could not be brought to trial nearer than Charlestown. Till the year 1770, there were no courts of justice held beyond the limits of the capital. The only legal authority in this infancy of the back country was that of justices of the peace, authorized by the Governor, who always resided near the sea coast. With his scanty means of information, to select proper persons for that office was no easy matter. The greatest villians had generally the most money, and often the most friends. Instead of exerting their authority to suppress horse-stealing and other crimes, some of these justices were sharers in the profits of this infamous business. Before such it was difficult to procure the commitment of criminals. If the proofs of their guilt were too strong to be evaded, the expense of transporting them to Charlestown was great; the chances of their escape many. When brought to trial, the non-attendance of witnesses from a distance of two hundred miles, and other circumstances

were so improved by lawyers to whom the horse thieves were both able and willing to give large fees, that prosecutions, though for real crimes, seldom terminated in conviction. The inhabitants groaned under these frustrations of justice. Despairing of redress in a legal channel, they took the law in their own hands. In the year 1764 Thomas Woodward, Joseph Kirkland, Barnaby Pope, and others of the best and most orderly inhabitants, held a consultation on what was best to be done. They drew up an instrument of writing which they and their associates generally subscribed. In it they bound themselves to make a common cause in immediately pursuing and arresting all horse thieves and other criminals. Such when caught were tried in a summary way by the neighbors, and if found guilty, were sentenced to receive a number of stripes on their bare backs, more or less in proportion to their misdeeds. They were then advised to leave the neighborhood and informed that if they returned, their punishment would be doubled. This mode of proceeding was called regulation, and its authors and friends regulators.

The horse thieves, their associates, and other criminals, who, from causes already mentioned, were numerous, made a counter common cause in supporting themselves against these regulators. Most of the inhabitants favored one or other of these parties. The one justified their proceedings on the score of necessity and substantial, though irregular justice; the other alleged the rights of British subjects to a legal trial by a court and jury. Though the former meant well, yet justice is of so delicate a nature that form as well as substance must be regarded. It is therefore probable, that in some cases, the proceedings of the regulators may have so far partaken of the infirmities of human nature, as to furnish real grounds of complaint against them. Their adversaries made such high colored representations of their conduct, that the civil authority interposed. Lord Charles Greville Montague, Governor of the province, adopted measures for their suppression. With this view he conferred a high commission on a man named Scouil, whose conduct, character and standing in society, had rendered him in the opinion of his neighbors, and especially of the regulators, very unfit for the office. As if the country had been in rebellion, Scouil erected something which was intended to be a royal standard; and afterwards called upon the regulators to answer for their transgressions of the law. In addition to many other acts of severity, he arrested two of their number and sent them under a guard to Charlestown, where they were imprisoned. The regulators and the Scouilites contending for the superiority, were arranged under their leaders and formed camps in opposition to each other. A

civil war was on the point of commencing; both were armed and prepared for the last extremity. Each party was ready to return a fire from their adversaries, but both dreaded the odium of beginning hostilities. Instead thereof, a flag was sent from one to the other—a capitulation ensued, in which both agreed to break up their camps, go home and respectively petition the Governor for a redress of their grievances. This was done and eventuated in the circuit court law, passed in the year 1769. The establishment of courts of justice at Ninety-Six, now Cambridge, at Orangeburgh, and Camden, removed that necessity which was an apology for the proceedings of the regulators. These gloried in having obtained their ends for bringing criminals to justice. Their exertions henceforward took a different direction; they applied to law and ceased to regulate. In less than two years they brought thirty-two horse thieves to trial, condemnation and punishment, under the authority of the new and adjacent circuit courts. The cause of justice triumphed, and a wholesome exertion of judicial authority re-established order. The country enjoyed peace and prosperity for the five following years. At the end of that period new scenes of distress, connected with the revolution, opened on the inhabitants. The animosities between these parties continued to rankle in their hearts, but were not called into action till the year 1775. When the revolution commenced, the actors in these late scenes of contention took opposite sides; and the names of Scouilites and regulators were insensibly exchanged for the appellation of tories and whigs, or the friends of the old and new order of things. Many of the former were called Scouilites, and probably had co-operated with Scouil in opposing the regulators; but the name was applied to others as a term of reproach on the alleged similarity of their principles as being both abettors of royal government, in opposition to the struggles of the people for justice and liberty. The tories or Scouilites, for the opposers of revolutionary measures were called by both names, insisted that the King had laid no new burdens or taxes on the people, and that therefore their opposition to royal government was groundless. The act, as it respected Carolina, was true; but the conclusion drawn from it did not follow. No new burdens had been laid on the inhabitants of the province, but the most grievous had been laid on Massachusetts, in pursuance of principles which equally applied to Carolina, and struck at the foundation of all her boasted rights. This train of reasoning was too refined for selfish individuals who had not energy enough to encounter a present evil to obtain a future good. Respectable well-informed persons were sent by the council of safety to explain the nature of the controversy to these mis-

judging people, and to induce their co-operation with their fellow-citizens in the common cause of American liberty. Partial success followed their explanations, and a treaty of neutrality was granted to the disaffected. But the old grudge still subsisted, and they continued to thwart the measures of Congress. The friends of the revolution marched an army into their settlements. Opposition was subdued with little or no bloodshed, and a temporary calm succeeded. But many of the disheartened royalists abandoned their plantations, and went either to the province of Florida, or among the Indians. In both cases they were tools in the hands of the British, and ready to co-operate with them against their countrymen who favored revolutionary measures. They lent their aid to a project for attacking the western settlements of South Carolina, at the moment Charlestown was to be invaded by a powerful fleet and army. They performed their part. Under the direction of Britain, and in concert with Indians, dressed and painted like them, they began to murder the white settlers nearly on the same day Sullivan's Island was attacked by the British. Measures of discrimination had been proposed among themselves to restrain the Indians from disturbing the tories, but they were unavailing. Both classes of white people fell by a common massacre. The repulse of the British in their attack on fort Moultrie, disconcerted the tories and Indians, and gave the whigs leisure to chastise them both. This was done with spirit and effect by an army commanded by Colonel Williamson. A calm succeeded for three or four years, but guards were kept on the frontiers and the inhabitants lived in terror; for they were apprehensive of a renewed attack. After the fall of Charlestown in 1780, everything was reversed. The British, the tories and Indians, had the upper hand. Robbery, desolation and murder, became common and continued till the revolutionary war was ended. Many were killed—several fled—the country was filled with widows and orphans, and adult male population was sensibly diminished.

From the first settlement of the upper country till the peace of 1783, a succession of disasters had stunted its growth. The years 1756, 1757 and 1758, were attended with no uncommon calamity. The same may be said of the years between 1770 and 1775, but with these exceptions; the upper country was for nearly twenty years of the first thirty of its existence kept in a constant state of disturbance either by the Indians or tories, and the contentions between regulators and Scouilites. Under all these disadvantages it grew astonishingly. Prior to the revolution it had received such an increase of inhabitants, as essentially contributed to the support of that bold measure; but since the year 1783, the improvement of that part of the

State has exceeded all calculation. In the course of the revolutionary war the Cherokees, having taken part with the enemies of the State, were so completely defeated, that in 1777 they ceded to South Carolina all their lands to the eastward of the Unacaye mountains. In the year 1784 a land office was opened for the sale of this land. The price fixed was ten dollars per hundred acres, payable in debts due from the State. This low price, the fertility of the soil, and the healthiness of its climate, allured settlers to this newly acquired mountainous territory in such abundance that its population advanced with unexampled rapidity. The extention of the limits of South Carolina—the increasing population both of its old and new western territory, has within the last twenty-five years elevated the upper country from a low condition to be the most influential portion of the State. The base of South Carolina on the sea coast below the falls of the rivers, when compared with its apex above the falls, is nearly as three to two; yet its principal strength rests with the smaller section. The latter increases in wealth, population and improvement of every kind, much more rapidly than the former. What the flat sea-coast has slowly attained to in 138 years, is now within the grasp of the hilly upper country; though very little more than half a century has passed since the first germs of civilized population were planted in its western woods.

CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

FROM A BRITISH PROVINCE TO AN INDEPENDENT STATE.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION I.

Of Introductory Events and Taking of Arms.

In the year 1763, when the peace of Paris had strengthened the British interest in North America by the addition of the contiguous French and Spanish colonies, many thought the English American empire was established on a permanent footing. Subsequent events proved the fallacy of these speculations. Perhaps some may allege that the removal of hostile neighbors inspired the colonists with projects of independence. This opinion is also unfounded, especially in South Carolina. Happy in her connection with Britain she wished

for no change. Between her and the mother country there was no collision of interests, and there never had been any serious complaints of either against the other. Commerce and manufactures were the favorite pursuits of Great Britain, and agriculture of Carolina. No instance can be produced where the relative connection, between a colony and its parent State, was more likely to last. In none was there a stronger bond of union from a reciprocity of benefits, or a fainter prospect of contention from the interference of their respective pursuits. The colony consumed an immensity of British manufactures, which she could neither make for herself nor purchase elsewhere on equal terms, and for the payment of which she had ample means in her valuable native commodities. The exchange of one for the other, was a basis of profitable commerce. Carolina, satisfied with her political condition, did not covet independence. It was forced upon her as the only means of extrication from the grasp of tyranny, exerted to enforce novel claims of the mother country, subversive of liberty and happiness. These claims were brought forward soon after the peace of Paris; and dissipated all the hopes which were fondly indulged, that Great Britain would maintain a pre-eminent rank in America. At this inauspicious period the scheme of a revenue to be laid by the British Parliament, and collected in the colonies without the consent of their local legistatures, was introduced. The British ministry were prompted to this innovation by the immense load of national debt, incurred during the war which in that year had terminated. They conceived that every part of their dominions should pay a proportion of the public debt and that the Parliament of Great Britain, as the supreme power, was constitutionally invested with a right to lay taxes on every part of the empire. This doctrine, so plausible in itself, and so conformable to the letter of the British constitution when the whole dominions were represented in one Assembly, was reprobated in the colonies as subversive of their rights and contrary to the spirit of the same government when the empire became so far extended as to have many distinct representative assemblies. The colonists conceived that the chief excellence of the British constitution consisted in the right of the people to grant or withhold taxes, and in their having a share in the enacting of the laws by which they were to be governed. In the mother country it was asserted to be essential to the unity of the empire, that the British Parliament should have a right of taxation over every part of their extended dominions. In the colonies it was believed that taxation and representation were inseparable, and that they could neither be free nor happy if their property could be

taken from them without their consent. The patriots in the American assemblies insisted that it was essential to liberty and happiness, that the people should be taxed by those only who were chosen by themselves and had a common interest with them. Mr. Locke's celebrated position "that no man has a right to that which another has a right to take from him," was often quoted as a proof that British taxation virtually annihilated American property.

Every thing in South Carolina contributed to nourish a spirit of liberty and independence. Its settlement was nearly coeval with the revolution in England; and many of its inhabitants had imbibed a large portion of that spirit, which brought one tyrant to the block and expelled another from his dominions. Every inhabitant was, or easily might be a freeholder. Settled on lands of his own, he was both farmer and landlord. Having no superiors to whom he was obliged to look up, and producing all the necessaries of life from his own grounds, he soon became independent.

The first statute that roused general and united opposition to British taxation was the memorable stamp act, passed in the year 1765. By this it was enacted, that the instruments of writing which are in daily use amongst a commercial people should be void in law unless they were executed on stamped paper, or parchment, charged with a duty imposed by the British Parliament. A less extensive tax might have passed unobserved by the unsuspecting colonists; but the stamp act was so intimately connected with all public and private business that an united vigorous opposition to it was judged indispensably necessary. To concert an uniform line of conduct to be adopted by the differnt colonies on this trying occasion, a Congress of deputies from each province was recommended. This first step, towards continental union, was adopted in South Carolina before it had been agreed to by any colony to the southward of New England. The example of this province had a considerable influence in recommending the measures to others who were more tardy in their concurrence. The colonies on this occasion not only presented petitions, but entered into associations against importing British manufactures till the stamp act should be repealed. On the 18th of March 1766, that favorite point was obtained. This concession had the effect of inspiring the Americans with high ideas of the necessity of their trade to Great Britain. The experiment of taxation was renewed in the year 1767, but in a more artful manner. Small duties were imposed on glass, paper, tea, and painter's colors. The colonists again petitioned and associated to import no more British manufactures. In consequence of which, all the duties were taken off excepting

three pence a pound on tea. Unwilling to contend with the mother country about paper claims, and at the same time determined to pay no taxes but such as were imposed by their own legislatures, the colonists associated to import no more tea; but relaxed in all their other resolutions, and renewed their commercial intercourse with Great Britain.

The tax on tea was in a great measure rendered a barren branch of revenue, by the American resolution, of importing none on which the parliamentary duty was charged. In the year 1773 a scheme was adopted by the East India Company, to export large quantities of that commodity, to be sold on their account in the several capitals of the British colonies. This measure tended directly to contravene the American resolutions. The colonists reasoned with themselves, that as the duty and the price of the commodity were inseparably blended if the tea was sold, every purchaser would pay a tax imposed by the British parliament as part of the purchase-money. Jealous of the designs of the mother country, and determined never to submit to British taxation, they everywhere entered into combinations to obstruct the sales of the tea sent out by the East India Company. The cargoes sent to South Carolina were stored, the consignees being restrained from exposing it to sale. In other provinces, the landing of it being forbidden, the captains were obliged to return without discharging their cargoes. In Boston, a few men in disguise threw into the river all that had been exported to that city by the East India Company. This trespass on private property provoked the British Parliament to take legislative vengeance on that devoted town. An act was immediately passed, by which the port thereof was virtually blocked up by being legally precluded from shipping or landing any goods, wares or merchandize. Other acts directed by the same policy speedily followed. One of them was entitled, "An Act for the better regulating the Government of Massachusetts." The object of this was essentially to alter the charter of the province. By it the whole executive government was taken out of the hands of the people, and the nomination of all officers vested in the King or his Governor. Soon after followed an act in which it was provided that if any person was indicted for murder, or for any other capital offence committed in aiding the magistracy, that the Governor might send the person so indicted to another colony, or to Great Britain, to be tried. These proceedings, no less contrary to the British constitution than to the chartered rights of the colonies, were considered as the beginning of a new system of colonial government, by which the provinces were to be reduced to a much greater degree of dependence on the mother country than they had ever experienced. A general

confederacy to aid the province of Massachusetts in opposing the execution of these unconstitutional acts very soon took place.

The proceedings of parliament were no sooner known in Boston than the inhabitants were thrown into the greatest consternation. Sundry town meetings were called to deliberate on the alarming state of public affairs. At one of them, viz: on May 13, 1774, the following vote was passed:

"That it is the opinion of this town, that if the other colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importation from Great Britain, and exportation to Great Britain and the West Indies, till the act for blocking up this harbor be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties. On the other hand, if they continue their exports and imports, there is high reason to fear that fraud, power, and the most odious oppression, will rise triumphant over justice, right, social happiness and freedom. And, moreover, that this vote be transmitted by the moderator to all our sister colonies, in the name and behalf of this town."

A copy of this vote was immediately forwarded to the other provinces. Upon its arrival in South Carolina, it was presented to a number of the principal gentlemen in Charlestown. They were of opinion that the principles of policy and self-preservation made it necessary to support the people of Boston; but the mode pointed out was a matter of too much consequence to be adopted without the general consent of the people. It was therefore determined to request a meeting of the inhabitants. That this might be as general as possible, circular letters were sent by express to every parish and district within the province. In consequence of this invitation a very great number, some of whom were from almost every part of South Carolina, met on the 6th of July, 1774, at Charlestown. The proceedings of the parliament against the town of Boston and province of Massachusetts were distinctly related to this convention of the people. On which, without one dissenting voice, they adopted resolutions declaratory of their rights, for supporting the people of Boston by voluntary contribution, and for organizing committees. They also adopted the following appropriate resolutions: "That the late act for shutting up the port of Boston, and the other late acts relative to Boston and the province of Massachusetts, are calculated to deprive many thousand Americans of their rights, properties and privileges, in a most cruel, oppressive and unconstitutional manner, are most dangerous precedents; and though levelled immediately at the people of Boston, very manifestly and glaringly show, if the inhabitants of that town are intimidated into a mean submission of said acts, that the like are designed for

all the colonies; when not even the shadow of liberty to his person, or of security to his property, will be left to any of his majesty's subjects residing on the American continent.

"*Resolved*, therefore, That the soundest principles of true policy and self-preservation make it absolutely necessary for the inhabitants of all the colonies in America to assist and support the people of Boston, by all lawful ways in their power, and to leave no justifiable means untried to procure a repeal of those acts immediately relative to them, and also all others affecting the constitutional rights and liberties of America in general. As the best means to effect this desirable end,

"*Resolved*, That Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch and Edward Rutledge, Esquires, be, and they are hereby, appointed deputies on the part and behalf of this colony, to meet the deputies of the several colonies in North America in general Congress, to consider the act lately passed, and bills depending in Parliament, with regard to the port of Boston and province of Massachusetts, which act and bills, in the precedent and consequence, affect the whole continent; also the grievances under which America labors, by reason of the several acts of Parliament that impose taxes or duties for raising a revenue, with full power and authority, in behalf of us and our constituents, to concert, agree to, and effectually to prosecute such legal measures by which we for ourselves, and them, most solemnly engage to abide, as in the opinion of the said deputies, and of the deputies so to be assembled, shall be most likely to obtain a repeal of the said acts, and a redress of these grievances."

This Convention of the people, and these resolutions, laid the foundation of all the subsequent proceedings, which ultimately terminated in a revolution.* The deputies appointed on this occasion, in a little time, sailed for Philadelphia, and were soon joined by others invested with similar powers by the several provinces.

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* Every atom of political power now exercised in and over the people and State of South Carolina, is a ramification derived from what was granted by the last of these resolutions. The people, by virtue of their inherent right to resist the illegal oppression of their rulers, delegated full powers to five men of their own choice to take care of their political interests, and promised to abide by what they might resolve upon. Power thus liberally granted was faithfully and judiciously used. The germ of representative government then planted, has grown up to the tree of liberty and happiness, under the shade of which the people of South Carolina enjoy as great a proportion of social blessings as in any country or age has fallen to the lot of man. On this memorable day, the aged declared their willingness to sacrifice the remnant of their days rather than submit to the oppressive acts of Britain. The young, with greater ardor, engaged to resist to the last extremity, and if they should survive all prospect of successful resistance, that they would retire from civilized society and take up their abode with the savages of the wilderness.

In this manner, by the general consent of the people and the universal alarm for their liberties, a new representative body, with powers to bind all the American provinces, was speedily constituted. The Continental Congress having, on the 26th of October, 1774, finished their deliberations, the South Carolina members returned home, and gave an account of their proceedings, the most important of which were as follows: A state of American claims, particularly of their exclusive right to tax themselves and to regulate their internal polity; a petition to the King, stating their grievances and praying a repeal of thirteen acts of Parliament, which imposed taxes on them, or interfered in their internal government, and an association to suspend importations of British goods, and the exportation of American produce, till these grievances were redressed. They also addressed the people of Great Britain and the inhabitants of the colonies. With great energy of language, they justified their proceedings to both, and endeavored to dissuade the former from aiding any attempt on their liberties, and the latter from a tame relinquishment of them. To give efficacy to the measures adopted by the deputies at Philadelphia, it was determined, by the general committee in Charlestown, to convene a Provincial Congress, by electing representatives from every parish and district in South Carolina, and to submit the proceedings of the Continental Congress to their judgment. As the measures about to be adopted depended entirely on the consent of the people, a very large representation was thought advisable. The Constitutional Assembly consisted only of forty-nine members, but this new representative body consisted of 184. The members of the Constitutional Assembly were universally members of the Congress, but with this difference, that in the latter capacity they could neither be prorogued nor dissolved by the royal Governor. This first Provincial Congress met on the 11th January, 1775, and took under consideration the proceedings of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, in the close of the preceding year. Without one dissenting voice, they gave public thanks to their late deputies to the Continental Congress, approved their proceedings, resolved to carry them into execution, and re-appointed the same delegates to the next Continental Congress. Lest the selfishness of individuals might break through the public resolutions, committees of inspection and observation were appointed, whose business it was to see that they were universally obeyed. This same body also passed an unanimous resolution, that in their opinion no action for any debt should be commenced or proceeded in without the permission of the committee where the defendant resided, and that the committee should give

permission for bringing suits where the debtors refused to renew their obligations or to give reasonable security, or were justly suspected of intentions to leave the province or to defraud their creditors. They also recommended to all the inhabitants to be diligent and attentive in learning the use of arms, and at the same time recommended to them to set apart the 17th day of February, 1775, as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer before Almighty God, devoutly to petition Him "to inspire the King with true wisdom to defend the people of North America in their just title to freedom, and to avert from them the calamities of civil war," and requested the several ministers of the gospel throughout the colony to prepare and deliver suitable discourses on the solemn occasion.

These recommendations for arming and praying were carried into effect with equal zeal. A military spirit pervaded the whole country, and Charlestown soon had the appearance of a garrison town. Volunteer companies were formed, and almost daily exercised. Children, in imitation of their superiors, were often to be seen going through the manual exercise with something in the resemblance of a gun. In these times that tried men's souls, the epithets of aristocrat and democrat were never heard. The poor wished for the countenance and influence of the rich. The wise and distinguished few sought for the strength of the many. Wealth and wisdom, nerves and numbers were put in requisition for the public service. Each depended on the other, and all knew that their united vigorous exertions were indispensably necessary. Joining foot to foot and hand to hand, they, with one mind, presented the whole body of the people, a solid phalanx, opposing their energies and resources to the introduction of arbitrary power.

The first of February, 1775, was the day fixed by the Continental Congress, after which no British goods should be imported. Notwithstanding the solemnity with which the resolutions had been adopted, several vessels, loaded with British goods, arrived in the harbor after that period. It was, doubtless, presumed by many that an association so contrary to the immediate interest and convenience of such great numbers, would be either violated or evaded. But, to their great surprise, they found the resolutions so well observed that a single article could not be landed, and that they must either throw overboard or send back their cargoes.

In this manner, while the form of the old government subsisted, a new and independent authority was virtually established. It was so universally the sense of the people that the public good required a compliance with the resolutions of Congress, that any man who discovered an anxiety about the

continuance of trade and business was considered a selfish individual, prefering private interest to the good of his country. Under the influence of these principles, the intemperate zeal of the populace transported them frequently so far beyond the limits of moderation as to apply singular punishments to particular persons who contravened the general sense of the community.

This was the third time that a scheme of non-importation had been adopted. From its success on two former occasions, and an apprehension that the trade of America was necessary to the inhabitants of Great Britain, it was generally hoped the obnoxious acts would soon be repealed. An appeal to arms, independence, and an alliance with France, were events at this period neither intended nor expected. A bloodless self-denying opposition was all that South Carolina designed, and was all the sacrifice which, as she supposed, would be required at her hands.

During the first three months of the year 1775, hopes were entertained that Great Britain would follow the same line of policy which before had led her to repeal the stamp act. On the 19th of April, 1775, a packet from London reached Charlestown, but with intelligence subversive of the pleasing hopes of a speedy accommodation.* On that same day hostilities were commenced at Lexington, in the Massachusetts, by a detachment from the royal army at Boston, against the inhabitants of that province. A particular account of that bloody scene was soon brought to the general committee in Charlestown. No event during the war seemed so universally to interest the minds of the people. All were struck with the new face of things, and viewed the contest in a much more serious light. From every appearance, Great Britain, instead of redressing American grievances, was determined to dragoon the colonists into submission. The spirit of freedom, beating high in every breast, could not brook the idea; while reason,

* This was obtained in the following manner. A secret committee had been appointed, who agreed to watch the arrival of the British packet, and to take possession of the mail. When it arrived, it was peremptorily demanded by William Henry Drayton, John Neufville, and Thomas Corbett, the members of that committee. The post-master refused and protested, but these three gentlemen took charge of the mail and carried it off to the general committee. The private letters were returned unopened to the post office, but public dispatches from the British government to the Governors of Virginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia, and East Florida, were opened and read. These furnished abundant evidence of the determination of England to coerce America by a military force. About the same time a letter from Governor Wright, of Georgia, to General Gage, commander of the King's army, then in Boston, was intercepted by the secret committee. It contained a request to General Gage to send a detachment of his majesty's forces to awe the people of Georgia. The secret committee took out this letter and put another in its place, with an imitation of Wright's signature subscribed, in which General Gage was informed "that there was no occasion for sending any troops to Georgia, as the people, convinced of their error, were come again to order."

more temperate in her decisions, suggested to the people their insufficiency to make effectual opposition. They were fully apprised of the power of Britain—they knew that her fleets covered the ocean, and that her flag had waived in triumph through the four quarters of the globe. They knew that they were exposed on their western frontiers to the irruptions of savage tribes, whose common rule of warfare is promiscuous carnage—and they were not ignorant that their slaves might be worked upon, by the insidious offer of freedom, to slay their masters in the peaceful hour of domestic security. The province, through its whole extent on the sea coast, which is nearly two hundred miles, was accessible to the fleets and armies of Great Britain. For defence, it possessed but a few fortifications, too inconsiderable for particular notice, and even these were held by the officers of the King. The royal Governor was Commander-in-Chief of the militia; and all the officers, being of his appointment, held their commissions during his pleasure. The inhabitants were quite defenceless—without arms—without ammunition—without clothing—without ships—without money—without officers skilled in the art of war. The stores of the merchants afforded no supplies, as the importation of arms had been restrained by the resolutions of Congress. That Great Britain would commence hostilities, was not imagined—that America should have recourse to arms, was not originally intended. Twelve hundred stand of muskets were in the royal magazine, but they could not be obtained without the commission of an overt act of treason. However, this alarming crisis of public affairs stripped reason of its wonted terrors. All statutes of allegiance were considered as repealed on the plains of Lexington, and the laws of self-preservation left to operate in full force. Accordingly, on the night after intelligence of actual hostilities was received, a number of the principal gentlemen in Charlestown concerted a plan to take possession of the arms and accoutrements in the royal arsenal, which they instantly carried into execution. They removed them that night from the arsenal, and afterwards distributed them among the men enlisted in the public service. Lieutenant-Governor Bull immediately offered a reward of one hundred pounds sterling, to any person who should discover the persons concerned in this business; but such as had the power had not the inclination, while the few who had the inclination were afraid to incur the risk of informing.

Hitherto the opposition to Great Britain had been entirely conducted on commercial principles; but as she turned a deaf ear to the petitions and remonstrances of the colonists, and resolved to force their obedience, they now found themselves

with no alternative left but a mean submission or a manly and virtuous resistance. Though the colonists to the southward of Boston were not immediate sufferers, yet they were sensible that a foundation was laid for every species of future oppression. The newspapers and other publications, through all the colonies, were filled with arguments and declamations to the following effect: "If a British parliament, in which we are unrepresented, has a right to shut up our ports, to tax us at pleasure, to abolish our charters, and to bind us in all cases whatsoever, we are tenants at will, depending on the good humor of our fellow subjects for all our possessions."

In this new state of matters, the Provincial Congress was immediately summoned by the general committee to meet in twenty-three days at Charlestown.

So great was the zeal of the inhabitants, and so general the alarm throughout the province, that one hundred and seventy-two members met on the day appointed, and proceeded with such assiduity that they finished a great deal of important business in a short session of twenty-two days. Great were the objects which came before this Assembly. Hitherto the only sacrifices demanded at the shrine of liberty, were a suspension of trade and business; but now the important question was agitated, whether it was better to "live slaves or die free men."

On the second day of their meeting it was unanimously resolved that an association was necessary. The following one was drawn up and signed by their President, Henry Laurens, and all the members present; and afterwards very generally by the inhabitants. It was also offered to Lieutenant Governor William Bull, who was a native of the province, and had a large estate in it; but he refused to add his name.

"The actual commencement of hostilities against this continent by the British troops, in the bloody scene on the 19th of April last, near Boston—the increase of arbitrary impositions from a wicked and despotic ministry—and the dread of insurrections in the colonies, are causes sufficient to drive an oppressed people to the use of arms. We, therefore, the subscribers, inhabitants of South Carolina, holding ourselves bound by that most sacred of all obligations—the duty of good citizens towards an injured country, and thoroughly convinced that, under our present distressed circumstances, we shall be justified before God and man, in resisting force by force—do unite ourselves under every tie of religion and honor, and associate as a band in her defence against every foe—hereby solemnly engaging that, whenever our continental or provincial councils shall decree it necessary, we will go forth and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure her freedom and safety. This obligation to continue in full force until a

reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America, upon constitutional principles—an event which we most ardently desire. And we will hold all those persons inimical to the liberty of the colonies who shall refuse to subscribe this association."

Within three days after, it was resolved to raise two regiments of foot and a regiment of rangers, and to put the town and province in a respectable posture of defence. These resolutions were deliberately agreed to, after counting the cost. The language of the times was, "we will freely give up half, or even the whole of our estates, for the security of our liberties." To defray these expenses, bills of credit were struck, which, without being a tender in law, and though founded on nothing but the consent and enthusiasm of the people, retained their credit undiminished for eighteen months, and answered every purpose of a circulating medium.

So great was the military ardor among the gentlemen of the province, that the candidates for commissions in the proposed regiments were four times as numerous as could be employed; and in their number were many of the first families and fortune. In making a selection among the numerous candidates that offered, care was taken to choose men of influence, decision and spirit, residing in different parts of the province, so as to unite all its energies in the common cause. Four or five had the recommendation of having served in the war of 1756, but the other candidates were preferred solely on the ground of their possessing the natural qualifications requisite for making good officers, in addition to their holding an influential rank among their fellow citizens.

In this manner, in a few weeks after the Lexington battle, the popular leaders became possessed of an army and treasury at their command. The militia officers also, having resigned their commissions under the royal Governor, were, by their own consent, subjected to the orders of the Provincial Congress. The following gentlemen were chosen a council of safety: Henry Laurens, Charles Pinckney, Rawlins Lowndes, Thomas Ferguson, Miles Brewton, Arthur Middleton, Thomas Heywood, Junior, Thomas Bee, John Huger, James Parsons, William Henry Drayton, Benjamin Elliott, and William Williamson. To this council the Provincial Congress delegated authority to certify commissions,* to suspend officers, and to order courts-martial for their trial; to have the direction, regu-

* This phraseology was used as a defence against the charge of treason and rebellion. They did not grant commissions, but barely certified that such had been granted by the Provincial Congress. At this period they, and other popular leaders, considered themselves as acting with ropes about their necks; and well knew that want of success would make that a rebellion, which otherwise might be a revolution. They all knew the consequences of the battle at Culloden.

lation, maintenance and ordering of the army, and of all military establishments and arrangements; and to draw on the treasury for the demands of the public service.

During the sitting of this Congress, which had in so many instances invaded the royal prerogative, Lord William Campbell, Governor of the province, arrived, and was received with all the demonstrations of joy usual on similar occasions. The Provincial Congress waited on him with an address, in which they observed: "We declare that no love of innovation, no desire of altering the constitution of government, no lust of independence, has had the least influence upon our counsels; but, alarmed and roused by a long succession of arbitrary proceedings by wicked administrations, impressed with the greatest apprehension of instigated insurrections, and deeply affected by the commencement of hostilities by the British troops against this continent, solely for the preservation and in defence of our lives, liberties and properties, we have been impelled to associate and to take up arms.

"We only desire the secure enjoyment of our invaluable rights, and we wish for nothing more ardently than a speedy reconciliation with our mother country, upon constitutional principles.

"Conscious of the justice of our cause and the integrity of our views, we readily profess our loyal attachment to our sovereign, his crown and dignity; and, trusting the event to Providence, we prefer death to slavery.

"These things we have thought it our duty to declare, that your excellency, and through you our august sovereign, our fellow subjects, and the whole world may clearly understand that our taking up arms is the result of dire necessity, and in compliance with the first law of nature.

"We intreat and trust that your excellency will make such a representation of the state of this colony, and of our true motives, as to assure his majesty, that in the midst of all our complicated distresses, he has no subjects in his wide extended dominion who more sincerely desire to testify their loyalty and affection, or who would be more willing to devote their lives and fortune in his real service."

To this address Lord William Campbell answered, that he knew of no representatives of the people of this province, except those constitutionally convened in the General Assembly; and was incompetent to judge of the disputes which at present unhappily subsisted between Great Britain and the American colonies; and that no representation should ever be made by him but what was strictly consistent with truth and with an earnest endeavor to promote the real happiness and prosperity of the province.

Opposition having been carried much further by this Congress than was originally intended at the time of their election, they resolved to give the people a fresh opportunity to express their unbiassed judgment on the state of public affairs. They therefore determined that their own existence as a body should expire on the 6th of August following, and that a new election should be held on the two succeeding days for a new Provincial Congress. On the 22d of June, 1775, they adjourned, having first delegated a great part of their authority to the council of safety and the general committee; the former of which was in the nature of an executive, and the latter of a legislative authority. It was particularly recommended to the general committee to take effectual methods to have the association signed throughout the province, and to demand from the non-subscribers the reasons of their refusal. Excepting in that part of the country included between the Broad and Saluda rivers, the non-subscribers were comparatively few. In Charlestown, where the general committee sat, their number amounted to about forty. The greatest part of these were officers, living on salaries paid by his Britannic Majesty. They, and others in the same predicament, were advertised as inimical to the liberties of America, and all intercourse between them and the associators was interdicted. An oath of neutrality was required of all, to which some agreed. Those who refused were disarmed; and a few, who would not enter into any engagements for the public security, were confined to their houses and plantations.

The people having concurred with the views of Congress in a military opposition, various plans were suggested for the defence of the province. Some thought it necessary to obstruct the bar, by sinking vessels so as to exclude the approach of ships-of-war. Others proposed abandoning the town, and making their stand in the country. Many measurements were made and much expense incurred, to accomplish the first, but it was at last abandoned as impracticable. Nevertheless, a spirited resolution was adopted to defend the town to the last extremity.

At the time these military preparations were making, the whole quantity of powder in the province did not exceed three thousand pounds. The people not originally designing a military opposition, no care was taken to provide stores; but now, reduced to the alternative of fighting or submitting, extraordinary methods were taken to obtain a supply.

Twelve persons, authorized by the council of safety, sailed from Charlestown, and by surprise boarded a vessel near the bar of St. Augustine, though twelve British grenadiers were on board, they took out fifteen thousand pounds of powder,

for which they gave a bill of exchange to the captain, and having secured a safe retreat to themselves by spiking the guns of the powder vessel, set sail for Carolina. Apprehending that they should be pursued, they steered for Beaufort. From that place they came by the inland navigation, and delivered their prize to the council of safety, whilst their pursuers were looking for them at the bar of Charlestown. This seasonable supply enabled the people of South Carolina to oblige their suffering brethren in Massachusetts; who, though immediately exposed to the British army, were in a great measure destitute of that necessary article of defence. Though the popular leaders had determined on a military opposition, yet fort Johnson, on James island, which commanded the harbor of Charlestown, continued in possession of the King's servants for more than three months after these resolutions were adopted. The Tamar sloop-of-war, and Cherokee armed vessel of eignteen guns, belonging to his Britannic majesty, lay in Rebellion road, opposite to Sullivan's Island; but the royal officers, either from an apprehension that indiscriminate violence could not to be justified, or from a contempt of the popular party, attempted nothing vigorous or decisive.

About the middle of September, 1775, the general committee became possessed of intelligence, obtained by artifice, directly from Lord William Campbell, "that troops would soon be sent out to all the colonies." On the next evening it was resolved, "that proper measures ought to be immediately taken to prevent fort Johnson being made use of to the prejudice of the colony." Colonel Motte, with a party of the new raised provincials, was appointed to execute this first military enterprise under the authority of the council of safety. Before he landed on the Island the fort was dismantled, the guns dismounted, and the people belonging to it retired on board the Cherokee and Tamar. On the following night Captain Heyward, with thirty-five of the Charlestown artillery, landed at the fort; and notwithstanding an incessant rain, they had three guns ready for action before the dawning of day. The officers of the men-of-war, then in the harbor, discovered a strong inclination to fire upon the fort; but, for prudent reasons desisted from the attempt.

The popular leaders issued orders forbidding the King's victuallers to supply the men-of-war with provisions and water, otherwise than from day to day. After sundry letters and messages had passed on this subject, Captain Thornborough, of the sloop Tamar, gave public notice, "that if his majesty's agents in Charlestown were not permitted regularly, and without molestation, to supply the King's ships Tamar and Cherokee, with such provisions as he thought necessary to demand,

he would not from that day, so far as it was in his power, suffer any vessel to enter the harbor of Charlestown, or depart from it."

The new Provincial Congress met, agreeably to their original appointment, on the 1st of November 1775. On that day, Captain Thornborough sent his menacing letter to the chairman of the general committee. This Congress had been chosen subsequent to the late resolution for raising troops, and resisting Great Britain. The royal servants presumed that the people at large would not justify these invasions of their master's prerogative; and, as they had lately had an opportunity given by a general and free election to express their real opinions on the state of the province, that the new Congress would reverse the determinations of the former. To the great surprise of the King's officers the new Provincial Congress, instead of receding from the resolutions of their predecessors, took methods to ward off the injuries that might arise from the execution of the menaces of Captain Thornborough. They sent out two armed pilot boats with orders to cruise near the bar, and to caution all vessels destined for Charlestown to steer for some other port.

The late Congress in June had agreed to arm the colony; but many still shuddered at the idea of hostile operations against their former friends and fellow-subjects. It was at length, after much debating, resolved by the new Congress, on the 9th of November 1775, to direct the American officer commanding at fort Johnson, "by every military operation to endeavor to oppose the passage of any British naval armament that might attempt to pass." Though the fort had been in the possession of the council of safety for near two months, yet a variety of motives restrained them from issuing orders to fire on the King's ships. When this resolution was adopted, they communicated it to Captain Thornborough, commander of the Tamar sloop-of-war.

An open passage to the town, without approaching fort Johnson, was still practicable for the small royal armed vessels Tamar and Cherokee. It was therefore, at the same time, resolved to obstruct the passage through Hog Island channel. Captain Tufts was ordered to cover and protect the sinking of a number of hulks in that narrow strait. While he was engaged in this business on board a coasting schooner, which was armed for the security of the town and called the Defence, the Tamar and Cherokee warped in the night of November 12, 1775, within gun-shot of him and began a heavy cannonade. The inhabitants were alarmed, expecting that the town, in its defenceless state, would be fired upon; but about sunrise both vessels dropped down to their moorings in Rebellion

road, without having done any material injury either to the schooner or to any of her crew. The schooner Defence returned a few shot, but they were equally ineffectual. This was the commencement of hostilities in South Carolina.

On the evening of the same day, on which this attack was made, the Provincial Congress impressed for the public service the ship Prosper; and appointed a committee to fit and arm her as a frigate-of-war. On the day following they voted that a regiment of artillery should be raised, to consist of three companies with one hundred men in each. A vote was taken about the same time for a new council of safety. Ten of the former thirteen were re-elected, and Henry Middleton, David Oliphant, and Thomas Savage, added in the room of three others. Their powers were enlarged so far as to authorize them "to do all such matters and things relative to the strengthening, securing, and defending the colony as should by them be judged expedient and necessary."

Agreeably to the menaces of Captain Thornborough, the King's ships in the road seized all the vessels within their reach which were either coming to Charlestown or going from it. These seizures commenced several weeks prior to the act of parliament for confiscating American property.

After these unauthorized seizures of private property had been continued about six weeks, the council of safety took measures to drive the royal armed vessels out of the road of Charlestown.* Colonel Moultrie, with a party, took possession of Haddrell's point and mounted a few pieces of heavy artillery on some slight works. A few well directed shot from this post induced the Commanders of the Cherokee and Tamar to put out to sea. The harbor and road being clear, the council of safety proceeded in their plans of defence. They completed the fortifications at Haddrell's point, and at fort Johnson—continued a chain of fortifications in front of the town, both to the eastward and southward—and erected a new fort on James Island to the westward of fort Johnson, and a very strong one on Sullivan's Island. The militia were diligently trained; the provincial troops were disciplined, and every preparation made to defend the colony.

In addition to the four regiments ordered to be raised in the year 1775, two regiments of riflemen were voted in February 1776.

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* An opinion generally prevailed that these small royal armed vessels could at any time destroy Charlestown by firing into it. As often as they bent their sails, an alarm was communicated that they were about to commence a bombardment. The inhabitants were for several months kept in daily painful expectation of such an event.

SECTION II.

Of the Extinction of Royal Authority, and of the Royalists.

The legal representatives met twice in the Constitutional Assembly after the general meeting of the inhabitants on July 6, 1774. In their first session, after that event, it was privately determined to give the sanction of their branch of the legislature to the resolutions adopted by the inhabitants at their late convention, though they were well aware that any vote for that purpose would induce the royal Governor to exert his prerogative for their dissolution. After finishing the necessary public business, the speaker of the house summoned a meeting of the members at a very early hour. A motion, previously prepared, was read and agreed to without any debate; which gave the sanction of the Assembly to the resolutions adopted by the people at their late general meeting in July. The same words were used by the people in their general meeting, and by the legal representative in the constitutional Assembly; and the same persons were members of both bodies. Lieutenant-Governor Bull endeavored to dissolve them while they were ratifying this resolution, but the business was completed before a council could be convened.

His majesty's justices made their last circuit in the spring of 1775. On this occasion William Henry Drayton, one of the assistant judges, and the only one who was born in America, in his charge to the grand jury inculcated the same sentiments which were patronized by the popular leaders. Soon after, he was elected President of ther Povincial Congress, and devoted his great abilities with uncommon zeal to the support of the measures adopted by his native country. Before the next circuit, his colleagues having refused to sign the association, were disarmed and advertised as inimical to the liberties of America. Not long after, he was appointed Chief Justice by the voice of his country.

Throughout the year 1775, and the first months of the year 1776, the popular assemblies by words avowed their allegiance to the King of Great Britain. Even while they were arming themselves they endeavored to reconcile this conduct with their allegiance, alleging it was only in self-defence against ministerial tyranny and not for purposes hostile to the King of Great Britain. After the Provincial Congress had raised regular troops Lord William Campbell gave commissions to the officers of volunteer companies of militia, which were formed and trained on the recommendation of the popular leaders. His Lordship also convened an assembly, and transacted

public business with officers in the new provincial regiments who were also members of the Constitutional Legislature; but he dissolved them on the 15th of September 1775, and never afterwards issued writs for a new election. For three months after his arrival he was unmolested, though indefatigable in secretly fomenting opposition to the popular measures. About the middle of September Captain Adam M'Donald had the address to get himself introduced to his lordship under the feigned name of Dick Williams, a supposed confidential messenger from the back country royalists to the Governor. In this assumed character he was informed that his lordship had on the day before, received a letter from the King of Great Britain; setting forth, "that his majesty was determined speedily to send out troops to execute his schemes from one end of the continent to the other." With a view of encouraging the royalists, the Governor gave an exaggerated account of the power of Britain and of her fixed resolution to compel the submission of America. He interspersed his discourse with the severest reflections on the new-fangled Congresses and committees. This conversation being speedily reported to the general committee they sent a deputation from their body, of which Captain M'Donald was one, to demand a communication of his lordship's late dispatches from England and a perusal of his correspondence with the back country. All these requisitions being peremptorily refused, it was moved in the committee to take the Governor into immediate custody; but the proposition was rejected by a considerable majority. His lordship, mortified at the deception which had been passed upon him and distrustful of his personal safety in Charlestown, took the province seal with him, and retired on board the Tamar sloop-of-war. In about a fortnight after, the general committee sent a deputation from their body with an address, inviting his return to Charlestown; in which they assured him, that while, agreeably to his own repeated declarations, he should take no active part against the good people of the colony, in the present arduous struggle for the preservation of their liberties, they should, to the utmost of their power, secure to his excellency that safety and respect for his person and character which the inhabitants of Carolina had ever wished to show to the representative of their sovereign. But his Lordship thought it most prudent to continue on board.

Legislative, Executive and Judicial powers were insensibly transferred from their usual channels to a Provincial Congress, council of safety, and subordinate committees. The inhabitants, generally alarmed for their liberties, took sundry steps for their preservation. From their own impulse they met and chose their representatives in committees and Congresses.

The power of these bodies was undefined; but by common consent it was comprised in the old Roman maxim: "To take care that the commonwealth should receive no damage." The ardor of the people, and their jealousy of the designs of Great Britain, gave the force of laws to their determinations. The voice of an approving country gave efficacy to the proceedings of the committees. They supported the Provincial Congress; which, in its turn, gave an active energy to the resolutions of the Continental Congress.

In this manner, without annihilating the forms of the ancient regal constitution, a new government was in a short time introduced by the general consent of the people.

Though this new establishment was effected by the voice of a great majority—great in number, and in weight and in influence greater still; yet, it was not wholly without opposition. Among the inhabitants of the back country, which had not been settled more than twenty years, many were uninformed or misinformed. In some neighborhoods their affections were enstranged from each other by local hostilities and party divisions; which, a few years before, had been urged to the extremes of reciprocal hatred and violence, as has been related.

There were also among them a considerable number who had settled on lands granted by the bounty of government. These had brought from Europe the monarchical ideas of their holding their possessions at the King's pleasure. They were therefore easily made to believe, that the immediate loss of their freeholds would be the probable consequence of their acceding to the American measures.

Among a people who had so many reasons to love and fear their King, and who were happy under his government, it was no difficult matter for Lord William Campbell to gain votaries to support the royal interest.

His Lordship was unremitting in his endeavors to persuade these uninformed back settlers, that the power of Britain could never be effectually resisted by the feeble American colonies: that the whole dispute was about a trifling tax on tea, which, as they were not in the general habit of using, could not to them be interesting. It was frequently insinuated that the gentlemen on the sea coast, in order to obtain their tea free from tax, were adopting measures which would involve the back country in the want of salt and imported necessaries; and that the expenses of the new raised regiments would be infinitely more than the trifling taxes imposed by the British Parliament.

The people generally felt themselves secure in their persons and property. It was therefore easy to offer arguments against

renouncing present comforts, to ward off future evils. The popular leaders could not urge the inhabitants to the dangers and expenses of war, otherwise than on speculation to prevent the more alarming consequences which would probably take place at a future time, if the proceedings of the British Parliament, against Boston and the province of Massachusetts, were suffered to pass into precedent. Distant evils weigh so little in the estimation of the multitude, that great scope was given to those who wished to head a party for submitting to the demands of Great Britain.

Though there were some royalists in every part of the province the only settlement in which they out-numbered the friends of Congress, was in the fork between Broad and Saluda rivers. When it was determined to raise troops, the inhabitants of that part of the province could not be persuaded that the measure was necessary. Feeling themselves happy and free from present oppression they were averse from believing that any designs, inimical to American liberty, had been adopted by the British government. Instead of signing the association, they signed papers, at their general musters, declaring their unwillingness to concur in the measures recommended by Congress. The council of safety sent William Henry Drayton, and William Tennent, into their settlement, to explain to them the nature of the dispute and to bring them over to a co-operation with the other inhabitants. They had several public meetings, and much eloquence was exerted to induce them to sign the association. Some were convinced and subscribed that bond of union; but the greater number could not be persuaded that there was any necessity for Congresses, committees, or a military establishment. Suspicion began to exert her mischievous influence. The friends of the old government doubted the authenticity of all pamphlets, and newspapers, which ascribed to the British troops in Boston, or to the British government, any designs injurious to the rights of the colonists. They believed the whole to be an imposition. The friends of Congress suspected the leading men of the royalists to be in the pay of Governor Campbell. Reports were circulated by one party, that a plan was laid to seize the commissioners sent by the council of safety; by the other, that the third provincial regiment was brought up to compel the inhabitants to sign the association. Motives and designs were reciprocally attribued to each other of the most ungenerous nature and mischievous tendency. The royalists embodied for reasons similar to those which had induced the other inhabitants to arm themselves against Great Britain. They suspected their adversaries of an intention to dragoon them into a compliance with the measures of Congress; and

they, in their turn, were suspected of a design to commence hostilities against the associators for disturbing the established royal government. Camps were formed in opposition to each other, and great pains were taken to increase their respective numbers. Moderate men employed their good offices to prevent bloodshed. After some days, the leaders on both sides met in conference. Several explications having taken place a treaty was reciprocally agreed to; by which it was stipulated that the royalists should remain in a state of neutrality. Both parties retired to their homes, and a temporary calm succeeded. Mr. Robert Cunningham, who had been a principal leader among the royalists, continued to encourage opposition to the popular measures; and declared that he did not consider himself as bound by the treaty. This declaration was construed as an evidence of a fixed intention to disturb the peace by another insurrection. To prevent anything of that kind he was apprehended, brought to town, and committed to goal. Patrick Cunningham instantly armed a party of his friends, and pursued with the expectation of rescuing his brother. The party collected on this occasion seized a thousand pounds of power, which was at that juncture passing through their settlement. This was public property, and had been sent by the council of safety as a present to the Cherokee Indians. To inflame the minds of the people, some designing men among the royalists propagated a report that the powder was sent to the Indians accompanied with instructions to kill every man who should refuse to sign the association. This charge, entirely false in itself, was not believed by any of the well-informed inhabitants; nevertheless it answered the purposes of party among some of the ignorant multitude. Great pains were also taken to exasperate the inhabitants against the council of safety, for furnishing the Indians with powder at a time when the white people could not be supplied with that necessary article.

Major Williamson, who commanded the militia in favor of Congress, went in quest of the party which had taken the public powder, but was soon obliged to retreat before their superior numbers. The royalists, irritated by the capture of Cunningham, and flushed with success in seizing the powder, were at this time more numerous than at any other period. Major Williamson was reduced to the necessity of retreating into a stockade fort, in which he and his party were confined without any water, till after three days by digging they obtained a scanty supply. The royalists possessed themselves of the gaol of Ninety-Six, and from that station fired into the fort, but very little execution was done. After some days the assailants hoisted a flag, and proposed a truce. Reciprocal permission

was given to forward expresses from the royalists to the Governor, and from Major Williamson to the council of safety. Both parties once more dispersed, and retired to their homes.

Domestic division at this time was particularly to be dreaded. An invasion from Great Britain was soon expected. A British fleet and army in front, and disaffected inhabitants in rear, threatened destruction to the friends of Congress. Lord William Campbell had uniformly recommended to the royalists to remain quiet till the arrival of a British force. This advice, so well calculated to distract the views of the popular leaders, had been providentially frustrated. Similar reasons of policy to those which induced the royal Governor to recommend inaction to the royalists, operated with the council of safety to crush their intestine foes before that force should arrive. It was therefore judged necessary, for the public safety, to march an army into their settlements before that event should take place. To remove prejudices, a declaration was circulated throughout their settlements stating the views and designs of Congress—the necessity of the measures they had adopted, and the wisdom and policy of co-operating with them in defence of their common country.

The Provincial Congress enforced their measures with an army sufficiently numerous to intimidate opposition. They sent a large body of militia and new raised regulars, under the command of Colonels Richardson and Thomson. They were also joined by nine hundred men from North Carolina. In a little time Congress had an army of two or three thousand men under their direction, with instructions "to apprehend the leaders of the party which had seized the powder, and to do all other things necessary to suppress the present and prevent future insurrections." Colonel Richardson proceeded in the execution of these orders with great moderation and propriety. A demand was made that the persons who had seized the powder should be delivered up to the justice of their country. Assurances were publicly given that no injury should be done to inoffensive persons, who would remain quietly on their plantations. The leaders of the royalists found great difficulty in persuading their followers to embody. They were cut off from all communication with Governor Campbell. Unconnected with their brethren, in other parts, there was no union in their measures. They were 'a rope of sand' without order and subordination, and without that enthusiasm which inspired the friends of Congress. Their leaders were destitute of political knowledge and without military experience. The unanimity of the whigs, and the great numbers which, from all sides, invaded the settlements of the royalists, disheartened them from facing their adversaries in the field of

battle. They saw resistance to be vain, and that the new government had much greater energy than they had supposed. The whigs acted by system, and in concert with their brethren in the adjacent States, and were directed by a council of safety composed of the wisest men in the province. They easily carried every point—seized the leaders of the royalists, and dispersed their followers. This decided superiority gave confidence to the popular leaders, and greatly strengthened their hands. The vanquished royalists retired to their plantations; but on all occasions discovered as much obstinacy in opposing their countrymen, as their countrymen did firmness in opposing Great Britain. Several of them, and of others who were averse from fighting, retired over the mountains, where, remote from the noise and bustle of war, they enjoyed that independence for which so many were contending. In the year 1778, when every inhabitant was called on to take an oath of allegiance to the State, many of them voluntarily abannoned their country for East Florida. In the same year, when the alliance between France and the United States of America was published, others of them nominally joined the Congress. After the reduction of Savannah, a considerable party rose a second time in favor of royal government; but they were completely routed on their way to the British emcampments in Georgia. They afterwards remained quiet till the British obtained possession of Charlestown.

Excepting these ill-concerted insurrections no public body in the province, prior to the British conquests in the year 1780, gave avowed evidence of their disapprobation of the popular measures. Several in private, no doubt, complained; but they contented themselves with secret murmurings. The number of slaves within the province, and of Indians on the western frontier, together with the large extent of unprotected sea coast, were, in the opinion of some worthy men, insuperable obstacles to success in contending with Great Britain. Several, influenced by reasoning of this sort, would rather have tamely submitted to the encroachments of the mother country than risked the vengeance of her arms.

The selfish, among the merchants and planters whose gains were lessened by the cessation of trade, wished for the return of business; but the main body of both classes most heartily concurred with the popular measures. A great majority of the people determined to sacrifice ease, pleasure, and fortune; and to risk life itself, to obtain permanent security for American rights. They believed their liberties to be in danger. Roused with this apprehension, they were animated to the most self-denying exertions. Beside their superiority in numbers, there was an animation in the friends of Congress which

was generally wanting in the advocates of royal government. Men of ardor for the most part sided with the former; but the latter were chiefly composed of the ignorant, the selfish, and the timid. Vigorous and decisive measures characterized the popular party, while their opposers either acted without system, or from timid counsels which were feebly executed.

No revolution was ever effected with greater unanimity, or with more order and regularity. The leading men in every part of the province, with very few exceptions, from the first moments of the contest, exerted themselves in the cause of their country. Their abilities and influence gave union and system to the proceedings of the people. A few persons in the colony hated republican governments; and some ignorant people were induced to believe that the whole was an artful deception, imposed upon them for interested purposes, by the gentlemen of fortune and ambition on the sea coast. But among the independent enlightened freemen of the province, who loved liberty and had spirit to risk life and fortune in its support, there were very few to be found who took part with the royalists.

SECTION III.

Of the Formation of a Regular Constitution.

Till the year 1776, the opposition to Great Britain was conducted on such temporary principles, that the repeal of a few acts of parliament would have immediately produced a reinstatement of British government—a dissolution of the American army—and a recommencement of the mercantile intercourse between the two countries. The refusal of Great Britain to redress the grievances of the colonies, suggested to some bold spirits, early in 1776, the necessity of going much greater lengths than was originally intended.

A few penetrating minds foresaw that the love of dominion in the parent state, and the unconquerable love of liberty in America, would forever obstruct a cordial reconciliaiton; but the bulk of the people still flattered themselves with the fond hopes of a re-union.

Public affairs were in confusion for want of a regular constitution. The impropriety of holding courts of justice under the authority of a sovereign against whom all the colony was in arms, struck every thinking person. The impossibility of governing a large community by the ties of honor, without the authority of law, was equally apparent. But, notwithstanding the pressing weight of all these considerations, the formation of an independent constitution had so much the

appearance of an eternal separation from a country, by a reconciliation with which many yet hoped for a return of ancient happiness, that a great part of the Provincial Congress opposed the necessary measure. At the very time when they were suspended on this important debate, an express arrived from Savannah, with an act of parliament, passed December 21, 1775, confiscating American property, and throwing all the colonists out of his majesty's protection. This turned the scale—silenced all the moderate men who were advocates for a reconciliation—and produced a majority for an independent constitution. In less than an hour after that act was read in the Provincial Congress, an order was issued to seize for the public, the Port Henderson, a Jamaica vessel loaded with sugar, which had put into Charlestown on her way to London; though she had the day before obtained leave to pass the forts, and would have sailed the same afternoon on her intended voyage.

A law of the national parliament, which had thrown the colonies out of his majesty's protection, convinced the most lukewarm that America, legally discharged from her allegiance to the King of Great Britain, must now take care of herself.

So strong was the attachment of many to Great Britain, which they fondly called the mother country, that though they assented to the establishment of an independent constitution, yet it was carried, after a long debate, that it was only to exist "till a reconciliation between Great Britain and the colonies should take place." The friends of reconciliation believed that it was the dictate of sound policy, and in no respect incompatible with the true honor and dignity of the parent state, to redress the grievances of the American colonies. The great body of the people would have rejoiced at such an event, and would with cheerfulness have returned to the class of peaceable citizens in the ancient line of subordination. They therefore only framed a temporary constitution, consisting of three branches, on the model of the British government. The Provincial Congress which formed this constitution, in conformity to the example of their revolutionary predecessors in 1719, voted themselves to be the General Assembly of South Carolina. They elected thirteen of their most respectable members to be a Legislative Council: they also elected a President and vice president; six privy counsellors to advise the president; a chief justice and three assistant judges; an attorney general; secretary; ordinary; judge of the admiralty; register of mesne conveyances.* The newly elected Presi-

* These several offices were filled as follows: Members of the Legislative Council—Charles Pinckney, Le Roy Hammond, George Gabriel Powel, William Moultrie, Rawlins Lowndes, Stephen Bull, Thomas Shubrick, Richard Richard-

dent, John Rutledge, took an oath to discharge his duty faithfully, and made an impressive speech on the occasion. The Legislative Council and General Assembly presented an affectionate address to the President, by which they engaged to "support him with their lives and fortunes." A solemn compact was thus established between the people and their chief magistrate. Every department of government was organized on the representative system, and went into immediate operation.

From this time forward, the public business was conducted agreeably to the fixed rules of the temporary constitution. Instead of resolutions of the congresses and committees, bills were brought in and debated, both in the Assembly and Legislative Council, deliberating apart and uninfluenced by each other. On their being agreed to by both houses, they were presented to the President for his assent. When duly enacted by the three branches of Legislature, they were carried into execution by the President and privy council. An act of Assembly was passed in this session 'for preventing sedition and punishing insurgents and disturbers of the public peace.'

By this law, treason and rebellion assumed a new form, and the penalties of these crimes were legally denounced against the aiders and abetters of British government.

The courts of justices which had been shut for twelve months, were, with great solemnity, opened on the 23d of April, 1776, under the sanction of this temporary constitution. On that occasion, William H. Drayton, Chief Justice, under the appointment of the Provincial Congress, gave an interesting charge to the grand jury, in which he vindicated the proceedings of his native country as just in themselves, and justified by what was done in England in 1688. The charge concluded thus: "I think it my duty to declare in the awful seat of justice, and before Almighty God, that, in my opinion, the Americans can have no safety but by the Divine favor, their own virtue, and their being so prudent as not to leave it in the power of the British rulers to injure them. Indeed the ruinous and deadly injuries received on our side, and the jealousies entertained, and which, in the nature of things, must daily increase against us on the other, demonstrate to a mind

son, Thomas Ferguson, John Kershaw, Henry Middleton, David Oliphant, Thomas Bee.

John Rutledge, President. Henry Laurens, Vice President. W. H. Drayton, Chief Justice. Thomas Bee, John Mathews and Henry Pendleton, Assistant Judges. Alexander Moultrie, Attorney General. John Huger, Secretary. William Burrows, Ordinary. Hugh Rutledge, Judge of the Admiralty. George Speed, Register of Mesne Conveyances.

Members of the Privy Council—James Parsons, John Edwards, Thomas Ferguson, William H. Drayton, Charles Pinckney, Rawlins Lowndes.

in the least given to reflection upon the rise and fall of empires, that true reconcilement never can exist between Great Britain and America: the latter being in subjection to the former. The Almighty created America to be independent of Britain: let us beware of the impiety of being backward to act as instruments in the Almighty hand, now extended to accomplish His purpose; and by the completion of which alone, America, in the nature of human affairs, can be secure against the craft and insidious designs of her enemies who think her prosperity and power already by far too great. In a word, our piety and political safety are so blended, that to refuse our labors in this divine work, is to refuse to be a great, a free, a pious and a happy people!

"And now, having left the important alternative, political happiness or wretchedness under GOD, in a great degree in your own hands, I pray the Supreme Arbiter of the affairs of men so to direct your judgment as that you may act agreeably to what seems to be his will revealed in his miraculous works in behalf of America bleeding at the altar of liberty!"

The sentiments contained in this charge, from the bench of justice, were re-echoed from the grand juries in the different districts. This first General Assembly, agreeably to the constitution they had framed, was dissolved by their own act and a general election for members of the Legislature was immediately held throughout the State. Such was the union of the people, and so general their acquiescence in the measures adopted by their representatives, that the former members were almost universally returned. The new Assembly met on the 6th of December, 1776, and in a few days after, rechose the former President and Vice President. The government had energy, and was cheerfully obeyed. So much tranquility reigned in every part of South Carolina, that after the departure of the British fleet and army in July, and the termination of the Cherokee expedition in October, 1776, events which shall hereafter be more particulary explained, the bulk of the people were scarcely sensible of any revolution or that the country was at war.

The policy of the rulers in departing as little as possible from ancient forms and names, made the change of sovereignty less perceptible. The inhabitants had long been in the habit of receiving laws from a General Assembly and Council. The administration of the government in times past, on the demise of the Governor, had been uniformly committed to one of the Council, under the title of President. The people felt themselves secure in their persons and properties, and experienced all the advantages of law and government. These benefits were communicated under old names,

though derived from a new sovereignty. Their ancient laws and customs were generally retained. The kingly office was dropped, and the revolution took place without any violence or convulsion.

South Carolina was the first of the united colonies that formed an independent constitution; it rested on the fundamental point, that the voice of the people was the source of law, honor and office. Criminal prosecutions, which were formerly carried on in the name of the King, were, from that era, carried on in the name of the State. The same offices, with nearly the same duties and powers that had existed under the royal government, were continued under the popular establishment, but with this difference, that the officers obtained their places by the vote of the Legislature, and not from the appointment of the Crown. The majesty of the people took the place that had formerly been occupied by the kingly office. By this substitution, a change of government was easily and almost insensibly effected. The respect which, for time immemorial, had been attached to Kings as the vicegerents of deity, and contributed to the support of their power, was transferred to those who, by public suffrages, were brought forward as substitutes of the people. Each individual thought that by honoring and supporting the men thus elected to public office, he honored himself as an unit in the mass of common sovereignty from which all power was derived.

SECTION IV.

Of the Attack of the Fort on Sullivan's Island, by Sir Peter Parker and Sir Henry Clinton, and the Invasion of the Cherokees by Colonel Williamson.

Soon after a regular form of government was adopted, a formidable attack from Great Britain gave an opportunity of ascertaining its energy. Governor Campbell, from the time of his abandoning the province, had been assiduous in his attempts to procure a military force to reduce it to obedience. He represented the friends of royal authority as needing only the countenance of a small military force to give them an opportunity of embodying for the establishment of British government; that Charlestown might be easily reduced, and that the reduction of it would restore the province to its former tranquility; Crown officers and their friends, the royalists, associating chiefly with one another, and not knowing or not believing the numbers, the resources, nor the enthusiasm of the opposite party, deceived themselves and communicated their delusions to the rulers in Great Britain.

In the close of the year 1775, and the beginning of the year 1776, great preparations had been made in Great Britain to invade the American colonies with a force sufficient to compel submission. With this view, early in 1776 upwards of fifty thousand men were employed in active operations against America. Part of this force was ordered to the southward, to carry into effect in that quarter the designs of the British ministry. In South Carolina every exertion had been made to put the province, especially its capital, in a respectable posture of defence. As one means conducing thereto, the popular leaders had erected works on Sullivan's Island. This is a very convenient post for annoying ships approaching the town. At the time the British fleet appeared off the coast, about twenty-six heavy cannon, twenty-six eighteen and nine pounders were mounted at Sullivan's Island, on a fort constructed with palmetto. This is a tree peculiar to the Southern States, which grows from twenty to forty feet high, without branches, and then terminates in something resembling the head of a cabbage. The wood of it is remarkably spongy. A bullet entering it makes no splinters nor extended fracture, but buries itself without injuring the parts adjacent.

On the first of June, 1776, advices were received in Charlestown that a fleet of forty or fifty sail were at anchor about six leagues to the northward of Sullivan's Island. The next day the alarm was fired, and expresses sent to the officers commanding the militia in the country to repair to Charlestown. In a few days after, several hundreds of the troops from the British fleet were landed on Long Island. This is situated to the eastward of Sullivan's Island, and separated from it by a creek. On the fourth of June, thirty-six of the transports crossed the bar, in front of Rebellion road, and anchored about three miles from Sullivan's Island; two of them ran aground in crossing, one of which got off, but the other went to pieces. On the 10th of June, the Bristol, a fifty gun ship, her guns being previously taken out, got safely over. About this time a proclamation was sent ashore, under the sanction of a flag, in which the British General, Sir Henry Clinton, promised pardon to the inhabitants in case of their laying down their arms and quietly submitting to the re-establishment of royal government. This produced none of the effects expected from it. The militia of the country repaired in great numbers to Charlestown. The regular regiments of the adjacent northern States, having been ordered to the assistance of their southern neighbors, arrived at this critical juncture. The two continental General officers, Armstrong and Howe, came about the same time. The whole was put under the orders of Major-General Lee. In a few days the Ameri-

cans, including the militia of the town and country, amounted to five or six thousand men. The first South Carolina regular regiment, commanded by Colonel Gadsden, was stationed at Fort Johnson. This is situated about three miles from Charlestown, on the most northerly point of James' Island, and is within point blank shot of the channel. The second and third regular regiments of South Carolina, commanded by Colonels Moultrie and Thomson, occupied the two extremities of Sullivan's Island. The other forces had their posts assigned them at Haddrell's point, James' Island, and along the Bay in front of the town. The streets near the water were, in different places, strongly barricaded. The stores on the wharves were pulled down, and lines of defence were continued along the water's edge. Domestic conveniences were exchanged for blankets and knapsacks, and hoes and spades were in the hands of every citizen. In a few days, by their labor, in conjunction with a number of negroes, such obstructions were thrown in the way as would have greatly embarrassed the royal army attempting to land in the town.

On the 25th, the Experiment, a fifty gun ship, arrived near the bar; and on the 26th, her guns being previously taken out, she got safely over.

On the 28th the fort on the Island was briskly attacked by the two fifty-gun ships, Bristol and Experiment, four frigates, the Active, Acteon, Solebay, Syren, each of twenty-eight guns, the Sphynx, of twenty guns, the Friendship, an armed vessel of twenty-two guns, Ranger sloop, and Thunder-Bomb, each of eight guns. Between ten and eleven o'clock the Thunder-Bomb began to throw shells. The Active, Bristol, Experiment, and Solebay, came boldly on to the attack. A little before eleven o'clock the garrison fired four or five shot at the Active while under sail. When she came near the fort she dropped anchor, and poured in a broad-side. Her example was followed by the three other vessels, and a most tremendous cannonade ensued. The Thunder-Bomb, after having thrown about sixty shells, was so damaged as to be incapacitated from firing. Colonel Moultrie, with three hundred and forty-four regulars, and a few volunteer militia, made a defence that would have done honor to experienced veterans. During the engagement the inhabitants stood with arms in their hands at their respective posts, prepared to receive the British wherever they might land. Impressed with high ideas of British bravery, and diffident of the maiden courage of their own new troops, they were apprehensive that the forts would either be silenced or passed, and that they should be called to immediate action. The various passions of the mind assumed alternate sway, and marked their countenances with anxious fears or cheerful

hopes. Their resolution was fixed to meet the invaders at the water's edge, and dispute every inch of ground, trusting the event to Heaven and preferring death to slavery.

General Clinton was to have passed over to Sullivan's Island with the troops under his command on Long Island; but the extreme danger to which he must unavoidably have exposed his men, induced him to decline the perilous attempt. Colonel Thompson, with seven hundred men, an eighteen pounder, and a field piece, were stationed at the east end of Sullivan's Island to oppose their crossing; but no serious attempt to land on Sullivan's was made, either from the fleet or by the detachment on Long Island. The Sphynx, Acteon, and Syren, were sent round to attack the western extremity of the fort. This was so unfinished as to afford very imperfect cover to the men at the guns in that part, and also so situated as to expose the men in the other parts of the fort to a very dangerous cross-fire. Providence, on this occasion, remarkably interposed in behalf of the garrison and saved them from a fate, which, in all probability, would otherwise have been inevitable. About twelve o'clock, as the three last mentioned ships were advancing to attack the western wing of the fort, they all got entangled with a shoal called the Middle Ground; two of them ran foul of each other. The Acteon stuck fast. The Sphynx, before she cleared herself, lost her bowsprit; but the Syren got off without much injury. The ships in front of the fort kept up their fire till near seven o'clock in the evening without intermission; after that time it slackened. At half-past nine the firing on both sides ceased; and at eleven the ships slipped their cables. Next morning all the men-of-war, except the Acteon, had retired about two miles from the Island. The garrison fired several shot at the Acteon; she at first returned them, but soon after the crew set her on fire and abandoned her; leaving her colors flying, guns loaded, and all her ammunition and stores. She was in a short time boarded by a party of Americans, commanded by Captain Jacob Milligan. While flames were bursting out on all sides they fired three of her guns at the commodore, and then quitted her. In less than half an hour after their departure she blew up.* The Bristol had forty men killed and seventy-one wounded. Every man, who was stationed in the beginning of the action on her quarter deck, was either killed or wounded. The Experiment had twenty-three killed and seventy-six wounded. Lord William Campbell, the late Governor of the

* Her guns were afterwards raised and planted on the lines of Charlestown for purposes of defence · but on being fired they burst. This was supposed to be the consequence of a change their metal had undergone from their falling into the cold water of the harbor, when they were heated by previous discharges.

province, who, as a volunteer, had exposed himself in a post of danger, received a wound which ultimately proved mortal. The fire of the fort was principally directed against the Bristol and Experiment; and they suffered very much in their hulls, masts, and rigging. Not less than seventy balls went through the former. The Acteon had Lieutenant Pike killed, and six men wounded. The Solebay had eight men wounded. After some days the troops were all re-embarked, and the whole sailed for New York.

The loss of the garrison was ten men killed and twenty-two wounded. Lieutenants Hall and Gray were among the latter. Though there were many thousand shot fired from the shipping, yet the works were little damaged: those which struck the fort were ineffectually buried in its soft wood. Hardly a hut or tree on the Island escaped.

When the British appeared off the coast there was so scanty a stock of lead, that to supply the musketry with bullets, it became necessary to strip the windows of the dwelling houses in Charlestown of their weights. Powder was also very scarce. The proportion allotted for the defence of the fort was but barely sufficient for slow firing. This was expended with great deliberation. The officers in their turn pointed the guns with such exactness that most of their shot took effect.* In the beginning of the action the flag-staff was shot away. Sergeant Jasper of the grenadiers immediately jumped on the beach, took up the flag and fastened it on a sponge-staff. With it in his hand he mounted the merlon; and, though the ships were directing their incessant broad-sides at the spot, he deliberately fixed it. The day after the action President Rultedge presented him with a sword, as a mark of respect for his distinguished valor. Sergeant M'Donald, of Captain Huger's company, was mortally wounded by a cannon ball. He employed the short interval between his wound and his death, in exhorting his comrades to continue steady in the cause of liberty and their country.

This ill-conducted expedition contributed greatly to estab-

* On the third day after the action, the lady of Colonel Bernard Elliott presented an elegant pair of colors to the second regiment which had so bravely defended fort Moultrie. Her address on the occasion concluded thus: "I make not the least doubt, under Heaven's protection, you will stand by these colors as long as they waive in the air of liberty." In reply a promise was made, "that they should be honorably supported, and never should be tarnished by the second regiment." This engagement was literally fulfilled. Three years after they were planted on the British lines at Savannah. One by Lieutenant Bush who was immediately shot down. Lieutenant Hume in the act of planting his, was also shot down; and Lieutenant Gray in supporting them received a mortal wound. The brave Serjeant Jasper on seeing Lieutenant Hume fall, took up the color and planted it. In doing so he received a wound which terminated in death; but on the retreat being ordered he brought the colors off with him. These were taken at the fall of Charlestown, and are said to be now in the tower of London.

lish the popular government which it was intended to overset. The friends of America triumphed. Unacquainted with the vicissitudes of war, some of them began to flatter themselves their work was done and their liberties established. In opposition to the bold assertions of some, and the desponding fears of others, experience proved that American might effectually resist a British fleet and army. The diffident grew bold in their country's cause, and looked forward to the completion of their wishes for its liberty and independence. The advocates for the omnipotence of the British navy confessed their mistake. Those who, from interested motives, had abetted the royal government, ashamed of their opposition to the struggles of an infant people for their dearest rights, retired into obscurity. Mr. Cunningham, and other leaders of the royalists, who, on the defeat and dispersion of their party in the latter end of 1775, had been taken and committed to close confinement, obtained their discharge soon after the departure of the British fleet. The State wished to conciliate them to the popular measures, and therefore in this moment of triumph received from them assurances of fidelity to their country, and restored them to the rights and privileges of free citizens.

Soon after the engagement, when the British troops were re-embarked for their departure, the transport-ship Glasgow, mounting six four-pounders, with fifty-six highlanders on board, ran aground near Long Island. Captain Pickering, Benjamin Waller, Cornelius Dewees, William Dewees, and twenty-one seamen, all volunteers, came alongside of her in a wood-boat, on which were mounted one eighteen-pounder and some smaller guns, and took the whole crew of the Glasgow prisoners. After stripping her of everything that could be brought off, they set her on fire. This successful defence gave to South Carolina a respite of three years from the calamities of war. In that season of leisure two expeditions were projected against Florida, but they both proved abortive. The energies of the State were applied with more success against the Cherokee Indian nation, which inhabit lands not far distant from the western settlements of Carolina. On the first appearance of a rupture between Great Britain and her colonies, the attention of both parties were engaged to secure the friendship of Indians. Many circumstances had concurred to give them unfavorable impressions of the Americans. For several years the management of them had been exclusively committed to John Stuart, an officer of the crown, and wholly devoted to the royal interest. Being in the immediate service of his Britannic majesty, he conceived himself under obligations to exert his influence to attach the Indians to the royal interest. The state of public affairs in the colonies furnished

him with many plausible arguments subservient to this design. The non-importation agreement adopted by the Americans, not only disabled them from supplying the wants of the Indians, but precluded the possibility of their receiving royal presents. This interruption of the commerce usual between the white inhabitants and their savage neighbors, gave Mr. Stuart an opportunity of exasperating the Indians against the friends of Congress.

In the years 1760 and 1761, a war with the Cherokee Indians had involved the inhabitants of South Carolina in such distress that they courted the aid of the King's troops in America. In fifteen years after, when the people of the same country dared to resist the parent state, it was supposed by the friends of royal government that the horrors of an Indian war would once more bring the province to sue for British protection.

The above mentioned Mr. John Stuart, very early in the contest, retired from South Carolina to West Florida; and from that province employed his brother Henry Stuart, Mr. Cameron, and others, to penetrate into the Indian country to the westward of Carolina. A plan was settled by him, in concert with the King's Governors, and other royal servants, to land a British army in Florida, and to proceed with it to the western frontiers of the Southern States, and there, in conjunction with the tories and Indians, to fall on the friends of the revolution, at the same time that a fleet and army should invade them on the sea-coast. Moses Kirkland, a leader of the party for royal government in the back parts of South Carolina, was confidentially employed by John Stuart, Governor Tonyn, and other royal servants to the southward, to concert with General Gage, the commander of the British forces in Boston, the necessary means for accomplishing the above mentioned scheme. The whole plan was fully detected by the providential capture of the vessel which was conveying Kirkland to Boston. The letters found in his possession were published by the order of Congress, and produced conviction in the minds of the Americans, that the British administration, in order to effect their schemes, had employed savages, who indiscriminately murder men, women and children, to commence hostilities on their western brethren. Though the discovery of the British designs, and the capture of Kirkland, who was to have had an active share in the execution of them, in a great degree frustrated the views of the royal servants, yet so much was carried into effect, that the Cherokee Indians began their massacres two days after the British fleet attacked the fort on Sullivan's Island.

The Americans very early paid attention to their savage

neighbors. They appointed commissioners to explain to them the grounds of the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies, and to cultivate with them a friendly correspondence. As far as they possibly could, they supplied their wants. They endeavored to persuade the Indians that the quarrel was by no means relative to them, and that therefore they should take part with neither side. These moderate propositions were overruled by the superior influence of the royal superintendent, who had their previous confidence and more ample means of administering to their necessities. An Indian war commenced, and was carried on with its usual barbarity. Their massacres caused a general alarm. It was known that the Indians were excited by royal agents, and aided by some of the tories. The inhabitants were for the most part destitute of arms, and government could afford them no supply. For present safety they betook themselves to stockade forts. Colonel Williamson was charged with the defence of the country, but so general was the panic, that in sixteen days he could not collect 500 men. An engagement took place on the 15th of July, between a party of Indians and tories, and a party of militia commanded by Major Downs. The former were defeated and fled. They were pursued, and thirteen of their number being taken, were found to be white men painted like Indians. Intelligence of the repulse of the British at Sullivan's Island on the 28th of June, arrived in the back country at this critical time, and produced very happy effects. The tories were intimidated, and the inhabitants turned out with so much alacrity that Williamson soon found himself at the head of 1,150 men. With 330 horsemen he advanced to attack a party of tories and Indians, which was encamped at Occnore creek. On his way he was attacked both in front and flank by savages who had formed an ambuscade, and from it kept up a constant fire. Williamson's horse was shot under him; Mr. Salvador fell by his side, and his whole party was thrown into disorder. Colonel Hammond rallied about twenty men, and, directing them to reserve their fire, marched rapidly with them to the fence behind which the Indians were covered, fired upon them, and immediately jumped over and charged. The Indians fled from the approaching bayonet. Williamson burned the Indian town on the east side of Keowee river, but his men could not be induced to pass the river till Colonel Hammond crossed before them. They then followed, and without delay destroyed all the houses and provisions they could find. Williamson returned to his main body and advanced with them to Eighteen Mile creek, where he encamped on the 2d of August. As he advanced, he sent off detachments to lay waste the Indian set-

tlements, who, by the fifteenth, had completed the destruction of all their lower towns. On the 13th of September, Williamson, with an army of two thousand men, partly regulars and partly militia, marched into the country of the Cherokees, whose warriors were said to be equally numerous. The invaders again fell into an ambuscade. They entered a narrow valley enclosed on each side by mountains. Twelve hundred Indians occupied these heights, and from them poured in a constant and well directed fire. Detachments were ordered to file off and gain the eminences above the Indians, and to turn their flanks. Others, whose guns were loaded, received orders from Lieutenant Hampton to advance, and after discharging to fall down and load. The Indians being hard pressed, betook themselves to flight. The army proceeded without further interruption, and on the 23d of September arrived in the vallies. Penetrating through them, they destroyed whatever came in their way. All the Cherokee settlements to the eastward of the Apalachian mountains, were so rapidly laid waste, that the business of destruction was completed, and Williamson's army disbanded early in October. Above five hundred of the Cherokees were obliged, by their distress for want of provisions, to take refuge with John Stuart, in West Florida, where they were fed at the expense of the British government. The Indian settlements to the northward were at the same time invaded by a party of Virginia militia, commanded by Colonel Christie, and nineteen hundred North Carolina militia, commanded by General Rutherford; and to the southward by the Georgia militia, commanded by Colonel Jack. Dismal was the wilderness through which the Americans had to pass. Their route was over pathless mountains, whose ascents were so steep that they could not be scaled without serious danger. At other times they had to march through thickets so impenetrable that the rays of the sun scarcely ever reached the surface of the earth. They were incessantly occupied for five days in advancing twenty-five miles. Notwithstanding all these fatigues, not one died of disease, and only one was so sick as to be unable to march.

The unfortunate misled Indians, finding themselves attacked on all sides, sued in the most submissive terms for peace. They had not the wisdom to shun war, nor the cunning to make a proper choice of the party with whom they made a common cause. About fifteen years before, by taking part with the French, they had brought on themselves a severe chastisement from the British and Americans. At this time, in consequence of joining the British and the tories, their country was laid waste, and their provisions so far destroyed

as to be insufficient for their support. And they were compelled, as a conquered people, to cede to South Carolina all their lands to the eastward of the Unacaye mountains, which now form the populous and flourishing districts of Pendleton and Greenville. These former lords of the soil have ever since been cooped up in a nook in the southwest angle of South Carolina, though the best part of that State was, about sixty years ago, their exclusive property. To preserve peace and good order, a fort called fort Rutledge was erected at Seneca, and garrisoned by two independent companies. A friendly intercourse between the savages and white inhabitants took place, and everything remained quiet till the year 1780.

None of all the expeditions before undertaken against the savages had been so successful as this first effort to the newborn commonwealth. In less than three months the business was completed, and the nation of the Cherokees so far subdued as to be incapable of annoying the settlements. The loss of the Americans in the expedition was thirty-three killed, and seventy-two wounded. The Cherokees lost about two hundred men.

From the double success of this campaign, in repelling the British and conquering the savages, the people of South Carolina began to be more and more convinced that the leading strings of the mother country were less necessary than in the days of their infancy. Through the whole of this year, though the arms of the British were successful to the northward, their interest to the southward declined. Every plan, for their acting in concert with the tories and Indians, proved abortive. Hard would it have been for the whigs of South Carolina to have opposed so formidable a combination could the friends of Britain have succeeded in their scheme of acting at one and the same time: but, through the kindness of heaven, the favorers of the revolution had the opportunity of attacking them separately, and of successively pouring their whole force, and also that of a considerable aid from their neighbors, on the tories, the British, and the Indians. The first, from their premature insurrection, were crushed before their British friends arrived. The last were abandoned to the resentment of the State, by the royal fleet and army precipitately leaving the coast, and under the smiles of heaven, all three were vanquished by the infant American republics. The means adopted by the British to crush the friends of the Congress were providentially overruled, so as to produce the contrary effect. Their exciting Indians to massacre the defenceless frontier settlers increased the unanimity of the inhabitants, and invigorated their opposition to Great Britain. Several who called themselves tories in 1775 became active whigs in 1776, and cheerfully took up arms in

the first instance against Indians, and in the second against Great Britain, as the instigator of their barbarous devastations. Before this event some well-meaning people could not see the justice or propriety of contending with their formerly protecting parent State; but Indian cruelties, excited by royal artifices, soon extinguished all their predilection for the country of their forefathers.

The expedition into the Cherokee settlements diffused military ideas, and a spirit of enterprise among the inhabitants. It taught them the necessary arts of providing for an army, and gave them experience in the business of war. The new arrangements, civil and military, were followed with that energy and vigor which is acquired by an individual or a collective body of people acting from the impulse of their own minds. The peaceable inhabitants of a whole State were in a short time transformed from planters, merchants, and mechanics, into an active militia, and a well regulated self-governed community.

SECTION V.

Of Independence and the Alliance with France.

Notwithstanding the nominal existence of royal authority in South Carolina, an independent government had a virtual operation from the 6th of July 1774. This was at first by conventions, committees, and congresses, whose resolutions had the fullest force of law on a people who thought that their liberties were endangered, and that their only safety consisted in union. It was afterwards reduced into a more regular form in March 1776; but all these institutions were temporary, and looked forward to an accommodation with Great Britain. The act of final separation from the mother country could not be the work of any one State. Everything of that magnitude was referred to the Continental Congress, to whose general superintendence the individual colonies had voluntarily submitted. That august assembly, at their first meeting in 1774, petitioned the King, and addressed the people of Great Britain for a redress of their grievances. In the year 1775 they renewed their supplications to their sovereign, in which they prayed that his majesty would be pleased "to direct some mode by which the united application of his faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, might be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that in the meantime measures might be taken for preventing the further destruction of his majesty's subjects." They also a second time addressed the people of Great Britain, in which

they apprised them of their fixed resolution to defend their liberties, but at the same time disclaimed every wish of independence, or any thing more than the secure enjoyment of their ancient rights and privileges. They asked for peace, but the sword was tended—for liberty, but nothing short of unconditional submission was offered. Their petitions received no answer. And all the inhabitants of the colonies were, by an act of parliament passed December 21, 1775, thrown out of the King's protection. This was a legal discharge from their allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and placed the colonies in a state of nature, at full liberty to provide for their own safety, by entering into any new social compact which they approved. Though the refusal of protection was a legal justification of their conduct in withholding allegiance, yet independence was untried ground, and could not at once gain the plenary approbation of colonies which had long flourished under royal protection. The minds of the inhabitants were overcast with fears, and tossed in a tumult of uncertainty. Their resolution was fixed never to submit to the claims of the British parliament, but how to extricate themselves from surrounding difficulties was a question that embarrassed their wisest politicians. While they were in this state of feverish anxiety, a pamphlet, under the signature of Common Sense, written by Mr. Thomas Paine, made its appearance. It proved the necessity, the advantages, and practicability of independence. It satisfied a great majority of the people that it was their true interest immediately to cut the gordian knot which bound the American colonies to Great Britain, and to open their commerce as an independent people, to all the nations of the world. Nothing could be better timed than this performance. It found the colonists greatly exasperated against the mother country, most thoroughly alarmed for their liberties, and disposed to do and suffer everything that bid fairest for their establishment. In unison with the feelings and sentiments of the people, it produced astonishing effects. It was read by almost every American, and in conjunction with the cruel policy of Great Britain, was by the direction of Providence, instrumental in effecting an unexampled unanimity in favor of independence. The decisive genius of Christopher Gadsden in the south, and of John Adams in the north, at a much earlier day, might have desired the complete separation of America from Great Britain—but till the year 1776—the rejection of the second petition of Congress—and the appearance of Mr. Paine's pamphlet—a reconciliation with the mother country was the unanimous wish of almost every other American.

Before the Congress ventured on the important step of

changing the sovereignty of the colonies, they sent forth a resolution on the 15th of May, 1776, recommending to all of them to institute forms of government. This was intended to ascertain the sense of the inhabitants on the important question of independence. In adopting this measure, Congress, instead of leading, only followed the voice of the people. South Carolina had for near two months been in possession of a regular government. Independence was finally decided on in Congress, and declared in Philadelphia, on the 4th of July, 1776. In this declaration, South Carolina most heartily concurred, and the same was subscribed on her part by her representatives, Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Thomas Lynch, Arthur Middleton.

From this moment everything assumed a new appearance. The Americans no longer appeared in the character of subjects in arms against their sovereign, but as an independent people, repelling the attacks of an invading foe. The propositions and supplications for reconciliation were done away. The dispute was brought to a single point, whether the late British colonies should be conquered, enslaved provinces, or free and independent States. This decisive measure was adopted without assurances of aid from any foreign power, and in the face of a British force of fifty thousand men. In a few days it was received in Charlestown, and proclaimed in the most solemn manner to the troops under arms. This was followed with the firing of guns, ringing of bells, acclamations of the people, and all the usual parade of a public rejoicing. The Declaration of Independence arrived in Charlestown at a most favorable juncture. It found the people of South Carolina exasperated against Great Britain for her late hostile attack, and elevated with their successful defence of Fort Moultrie. It was welcomed by a great majority of the inhabitants. In private it is probable that some condemned the measure, as rashly adventurous beyond the ability of the State; but these private murmurs never produced to the public ear a single expression of disapprobation.

After the termination of the unsuccessful attack on the fort on Sullivan's Island in June, 1776, the British arms were for more than two years wholly employed to the northward. During this period, South Carolina felt very few of the inconveniences which were then grinding their brethren to the northward. They were in possession of a lucrative commerce, and comparatively happy. In the year 1777 and 1778 Charlestown was the mart for supplying with goods most of the States to the southward of New Jersey. Many hundred wagons were employed in this inland traffic. At no period of peace were fortunes more easily or more rapidly acquired.

While Congress vigorously opposed Great Britain from their own resources, they did not neglect the important business of negotiation. The friendship of foreign powers, particularly of the ancient and powerful monarchy of France, was, from the Declaration of Independence, earnestly desired by the new-formed States of America. On the 6th of February, 1778, his most christian majesty, Louis the Sixteenth, entered into treaties of amity and commerce, and of alliance with the American commissioners at Paris, on the footing of the most perfect equality and reciprocity. Such a powerful ally, added to the natural force of America, alarmed the fears of Great Britain, and induced her to make an effort in the way of negotiation to recover her late colonies. Governor Johnstone, Lord Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, were appointed commissioners on the part of Great Britain, to come to America and to offer Congress a relinquishment of the parliamentary exercise of taxation, and to confirm them in every immunity consistent with an union of force. So expeditious was the court of Great Britain in proposing these overtures, that the bills containing them were read in Congress eleven days before any information was received by that body of their alliance with France. A firm determination, under no change of fortune whatever to recede from their Declaration of Independence, prompted Congress in the first instance to reject the proposals of a RE-UNION with Great Britain. After their connection with France was known, gratitude and national faith were additional incentives to continue in the same line of conduct.

When the alliance with France was announced in South Carolina, it diffused a general joy. It not only gave confidence to all in the final establishment of their independence, but reconciled them to the calamities of war. They viewed their misfortunes only as temporary, and looked forward to a speedy peace, when all their wishes in favor of their country would be realized. The conduct of Congress, in instantly rejecting the offers of the commissioners, was in all companies applauded. The second petition of Congress had not asked so much as was then offered. At that period the propositions of Great Britain would have been gladly accepted, but to that petition the King of Great Britain refused an answer. After the colonies had declared themselves independent States—had pledged their honor to abide by that declaration—had, under the smiles of heaven, maintained it for three campaigns without foreign aid—after the greatest monarch in Europe had entered into a treaty with them, and guaranteed their independence—after all this to degrade themselves from the rank of freemen to that of subjects—from sovereign States to dependent provinces—were propositions no where less relished than

by the citizens of South Carolina. The tide was fairly turned. Instead of that hankering after Great Britain which had made a separation painful, the current of popular opinions and prejudices ran strong in an opposite direction.

On a review of the transactions between Great Britain and America from the year 1774 to the year 1778, an attentive observer cannot but remark four different periods, in each of which the contest between the two countries assumed a new complexion. The parliamentary claims of unlimited supremacy—the Boston port act—the abolition of the charter of Massachusetts, and the other acts of the like tendency, passed about the same time, roused the colonies in 1774 to the appointment of a Congress, and to a declaration of their exclusive right to tax themselves, and regulate their own internal polity. To obtain a repeal of thirteen acts of parliament, which infringed upon these claims, they petitioned the King of Great Britain, and associated to suspend all trade till this repeal should be obtained. The success that had followed two former attempts of this kind, flattered them that their present wishes would soon be fully gratified. They therefore very generally came into the measure, without foreseeing all the consequences, and without intending anything further than such a commercial opposition as would interest the West Indians and British merchants in their behalf. The refusal of this first petition, and the subsequent commencement of hostilities on the part of Great Britain, produced in the colonists a determination to oppose force to force. A military opposition was therefore adopted about the middle of the year 1775, but without a design of effecting a separation from Great Britain. At this second stage of the quarrel, the Congress prepared a second petition, praying for the repeal of the obnoxious acts. To give weight to this renewed application to the throne, and to rouse the people of England to a sense of the probable consequences of their persisting in the war, they formed a temporary army, and published to the world their resolution of defending their liberties at every hazard. Still nothing further was intended than a redress of grievances. The rejection of this second petition—the determination to wage war in full form against the colonists—and the act of parliament putting the whole of them out of the King's protection, gave birth to a third and unforeseen measure—the Declaration of Independence. Without this they must either have submitted with their grievances unredressed, or carried on a war under the appellation of subjects in arms against their acknowledged sovereign, in which case no foreign power could have openly assisted them. After this measure was adopted, a federal union might have taken place between Great Britain and America. Instead of

proposing anything of this kind, Great Britain carried on the war for the campaigns of 1776 and 1777, professedly with a view to reduce them to unconditional submission, and offered nothing to the United States before April 1778, which they could with safety accept. After a treaty had been concluded between France and America, Great Britain sent out commissioners to offer Congress more than a repeal of the acts which were at first the source of the dispute. By this conduct she virtually acknowledged she had been hitherto in the wrong, and also gave the United States an opportunity of evincing to their new ally the sincerity of their engagements.

From this time forward commenced the fourth period of the contest. The colonies were not only lost to Great Britain, but their whole weight was thrown into the opposite scale of France.

Though the continental Congress, in conducting the opposition to the mother country, did little more than give an efficient operation to the wishes of their constituent, yet the British commissioners flattered themselves that an application to the local Legislatures and the people at large, would be more successful. They therefore next addressed themselves to the individual States, and denounced the extremities of war on those who continued to prefer the alliance with France to a re-union with Great Britain. This did not produce the intimidation expected from it, nor were their proposals more favorably received by the local Legislatures, or the people, than they had been by the Continental Congress. When the flag arrived with their overtures separately addressed to the Governor, the Assembly, the military, the clergy, and the people of South Carolina, it was detained in the road near the harbor of Charlestown, till President Lowndes convened his council, and the heads or leading men of the different orders of the inhabitants, to whom they were addressed. As soon as the letters of the British commissioners were read to the gentlemen convened on this occasion, an unanimous resolution was adopted to order the flag-vessels immediately to depart the State. This was accompanied with a reprimand for attempting to violate the constitution of the country, by offering to negotiate with the State in its separate capacity.

SECTION VI.

Campaign of 1779.

Soon after the British commissioners were convinced of the inefficacy of negotiation to effect a re-union of the colonies with Great Britain, the war recommenced, but entirely on a new system. Hitherto the conquest of America had been at-

tempted by proceeding from north to south; but that order was from this period inverted. The northern States in their turn obtained a diminution of their calamities, while South Carolina and the adjacent settlements, became the principal theatre of offensive operations.

The reduction in Savannah in December, 1778, by Colonel Campbell, and the rapid extension of British conquests over Georgia, were among the first consequences of this new plan of warfare. South Carolina was thereby made a frontier; the proximity of the enemy called for redoubled exertions to be prepared for every event.

At the request of the delegates from South Carolina, Congress appointed Major General Lincoln to take the command of all their forces to the southward. This officer was second in command in the campaign of 1777, when General Burgoyne and his army surrendered to General Gates. He brought to the southward great reputation, and there, though under many disadvantages, acquired the further honor of checking the British conquests, and preserving the State for upwards of fifteen months against a superior enemy. His plans were well formed; but his little army, mostly consisting of militia, was not able to contend with superior numbers and the discipline of British regular troops. The continentals under his command did not exceed six hundred men, and all the rest of his force was made up of draughts from the inhabitants of the country, changed every second or third month.

Upon advice received of the intentions of the British to invade the southern States, President Lowndes, in order to keep as great a force as possible in the country, laid on a general embargo, and prohibited the sailing of vessels from any port of the State. He also ordered "the proprietors of neat cattle, sheep and hogs, on the sea-islands and other parts immediately exposed to the incursions of the enemy, to remove them off the said islands or exposed places, that the British might be prevented from obtaining a supply of provisions." And also addressed the Legislature in an animated speech of which the following is a part. "Our inveterate and obdurate enemy being foiled in the northern States, and by the valor and good conduct of the inhabitants compelled to abandon their hopes of conquest there, have turned their arms more immediately against these southern States, in hopes of better success. They are now in possession of Savannah, the capital of Georgia, from whence, if not prevented, an easy transition may be made into this country. This situation of danger, gentlemen, calls for your most serious consideration. Our whole force and strength should be exerted to stop the progress of the enemy." These spirited sentiments were re-echoed

by the House of Representatives in an address, of which the following is a part. "That our cruel and ambitious enemies should turn their arms against these southern States is a circumstance not unexpected. But this last nefarious struggle of our desponding foes will, we trust, under the assistance of Divine Providence, in the end tend more to show their impotent malice, than the wisdom of their counsels or the valor of their arms; for that same spirit which once animated our countrymen to drive them disgraced from our coasts, will again be exerted to effect the like happy consequences. We conceive ourselves bound by all the difference there is between the horrors of slavery and the blessings of liberty, to use every means in our power to expel them from our country."

General Lincoln established his first post at Purysburgh, a small village on the northern banks of the river Savannah. A large proportion of the militia of the State of South Carolina was draughted, put under the command of Colonel Richardson, and marched for the American head quarters. Their numbers were considerable, but they had not yet learned the implicit obedience necessary for military operations. Accustomed to activity on their farms, they could not bear the languors of an encampment. Having grown up in habits of freedom and independence on their freeholds, they reluctantly submitted to martial discipline.

The royal army at Savannah, being reinforced by troops from St. Augustine, its commanders formed a scheme of extending a part of their forces into South Carolina. Major Gardiner, with two hundred men, was detached to take possession of Port Royal Island. Soon after he landed General Moultrie, at the head of an equal number of men in which there were only nine regular soldiers, attacked and drove him off the Island. This advantage was principally gained by two field pieces which were well served by a party of the Charlestown militia artillery, under the command of the Captains Heyward and Rutledge. The British lost almost all their officers, and several prisoners were taken by a small party of Port Royal militia commanded by Captain Barnwell. The Americans had eight men killed, and twenty-two wounded. Among the former, Lieutenant Benjamin Wilkins was the theme of universal lamentation. His country regretted the fall of a worthy man, and an excellent officer. A numerous young family sustained a loss which to them was irreparable.

This success of the Americans checked the British, and for the present prevented their attempting any enterprise against South Carolina; but they extended themselves over a great part of Georgia. Their next object were to strengthen themselves by the addition of the tories. Emissaries were employed

to encourage them to a general insurrection. Several hundreds of them accordingly embodied and marched along the western frontiers of the State. Colonel Pickins, with about three hundred men, immediately followed and came up with them near Kettle creek; where an action took place which lasted three quarters of an hour. The tories gave way, and were totally routed. Colonel Pickins had nine men killed, and several wounded. The royalists had about forty killed; in which number was their leader Colonel Boyd, who had been secretly employed by British authority to collect and head these insurgents. By this action the British were totally disconcerted. The tories were dispersed all over the country. Some ran to North Carolina, some wandered not knowing whither. Many went to their homes, and cast themselves on the mercy of the new government. Soon after this defeat, the British retreated from Augusta towards Savannah; and for the remainder of that season the whole upper country, of both South Carolina and Georgia, enjoyed domestic security.

The insurgents on this occasion were the subjects of the State of South Carolina, and owed obedience to its laws. They were therefore tried in a regular manner, by a jury, under the direction of the Courts of Justice appointed by the republican government. Seventy of them were condemned to die by the laws of the State, enacted since the abolition of royal government; but the sentence of the court was executed only on five of their principals, and all the rest were pardoned.

This second unsuccessful insurrection damped the spirit of the tories. Their plans were ill laid, and worse executed. They had no men of ability capable of giving union to their force. They were disappointed in their expectations of aid from the royal army, and had the mortification to see a few of their ringleaders executed for treason and rebellion against the State.

As the British extended their posts up the river Savannah on the south side, General Lincoln fixed encampments at Black Swamp and opposite to Augusta. From these posts he crossed the river at Augusta and at Zubly's ferry in two divisions, with the view of limiting the British to the sea coast of Georgia. In the execution of this design General Ash, with fifteen hundred North Carolina militia, and a few Georgia continentals, crossed the Savannah river on the 28th of February 1779; and immediately marched down the country as far as Briar creek. At this place, on the fourth day after his crossing, he was surprised at three o'clock in the afternoon by Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost. This detachment of the royal army, having crossed Briar creek fifteen miles above General Ash's encampment, came unexpectedly on his rear. The

American militia, completely surprised, were thrown into confusion and fled at the first fire, Several were killed, and a considerable number taken. None had any chance of escaping but by crossing the river, in attempting which many were drowned; of those who got over safe, a great part returned home. The few continentals, about 60 under Colonel Elbert, fought with the greatest bravery; but the survivors of them, with their gallant leader, were at last compelled to surrender. The whole that remained and rejoined the American camp, did not exceed four hundred and fifty men. This event deprived General Lincoln of one-fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication between the British, the Indians, and the tories of South and North Carolina.

Unexperienced in the art of war, the Americans were frequently subject to those reverses of fortune which usually attend young soldiers. Unacquainted with military stratagems, deficient in discipline, and not thoroughly broken to habits of implicit obedience, they were often surprised; and had to learn, by repeated misfortunes, the necessity of subordination and the advantages of discipline. Their numbers in the field, to those who are acquainted with European wars, must appear inconsiderable; but such is the difference of the state of society, and of the population in the old and new world, that in America a few hundreds decided objects of equal magnitude with those which, in European States, would have called into the field many thousands. The prize contended for was nothing less than the sovereignty of three millions of people, and five hundred millions of acres of land; and yet, from the remote situation of the invading power and the thin population of the invaded States, this momentous question was materially affected by the consequences of battles in which only a few hundreds engaged.

The series of disasters which had followed the American arms since the landing of the British in Georgia, occasioned among the inhabitants of South Carolina many well founded apprehensions for their safety. The Assembly of the State, desirous of making a vigorous opposition to the extension of the British conquests, passed a very severe militia law. Hitherto the penalties for disobedience of orders were inconsiderable, but as the defence of the country, in a great measure, depended on the exertions of its inhabitants, much heavier fines were imposed on those who either neglected to turn out or who misbehaved or disobeyed orders. Every effort was made to strengthen the continental army. Additional bounties and greater emoluments were promised as inducements to encourage the recruiting service. The extent and variety of military operations in the open country pointed out the advantages of

cavalry; a regiment of dragoons was, therefore, raised and put under the command of Colonel Daniel Horry.

In this time of general alarm, John Rutledge, by the almost unanimous voice of his countrymen, was called to the chair of government. To him and his council was delegated, by the Legislature, power "to do everything that appeared to him and them necessary for the public good." In execution of this trust he assembled a body of militia. This corps, kept in constant readiness to march whithersoever public service might require, was stationed near the centre of the State, at Orangeburg. From this militia camp, Colonel Simmons was detached with a thousand men, to re-inforce General Moultrie, at Black Swamp. The original plan of penetrating into Georgia was resumed. Lincoln marched with the main army up the Savannah river, that he might give confidence to the country, and lead into Georgia a body of militia encamped in South Carolina, under the command of General Williamson. A small force was left at Black Swamp and Purysburgh, for the purpose of defending Carolina, while offensive operations were about to be commenced in Georgia. General Prevost availed himself of the critical time, when the American army was one hundred and fifty miles up the Savannah river, and crossed over into Carolina from Abercorn to Purysburgh with two thousand men. In addition to this number of regular troops, a party of Indians, whose friendship the British had previously secured, were associated with the royal army. Lieutenant-Colonel Macintosh, who commanded a few continentals at Purysburgh, not being able to oppose this force, made a timely retreat. It was part of Prevost's plan to attack Moultrie at Black Swamp, to effect which he made a forced march the first night after he landed on the Carolina side, but he was three hours too late. Moultrie had changed his quarters, and being joined by Macintosh's party, took post at Tulifinny Bridge, to prevent the incursion of the British into the State and to keep between them and its capital. General Lincoln, on receiving information of these movements, detached Colonel Harris, with two hundred and fifty of his best light troops, for Charlestown, but crossed the river Savannah, near Augusta, with the main army, and marched for three days down the country towards the capital of Georgia. He was induced to pursue his original intention from an idea that Prevost meant nothing more than to divert him from his intended operations in Georgia, by a feint of attempting the capital of South Carolina, and because his marching down on the south side of the river Savannah would occasion very little additional delay in repairing to the defence of Charlestown. Prevost proceeded in his march by

the main road, near the sea coast, without opposition, as far as Coosawhatchie bridge. Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, with eighteen continentals and a much larger number of militia, was detached to dispute this difficult pass. That gallant officer persevered till he was wounded and had lost one-half of his continentals. The British fired in security under the cover of houses on the opposite bank, and had the advantage of a field piece. On this, the first time of their being in danger, the American militia could not be persuaded to stand their ground. A retreat took place, and was conducted by Captain Shubrick, over a long causeway, in the face of a superior foe.

As the British army advanced into the country, they committed many outrages and depredations. The day before the skirmish just mentioned, they burnt all the buildings on Major Butler's plantation, at the Eutaws. The day after, they burned the Episcopal Church, in Prince William's Parish, and General Bull's house, at Sheldon.

The position of General Moultrie at Tulifinny was by no means a safe one, for the British might easily have crossed above him and got in his rear. A general retreat of his whole force towards Charlestown was, therefore, thought advisable. This was conducted with great propriety, though under many disadvantages. Moultrie had no cavalry to check the advancing foe, and, instead of receiving re-inforcements from the inhabitants as he marched through the country, many of the militia left him and went home. Their families and property lay directly in the route of the invading army. Several, after providing for their wives and children, rejoined Moultrie in Charlestown, but the greater number sought security by staying on their plantations. The retreating Americans destroyed all the bridges in their rear, but there was scarce any other interruption thrown in the way of the British in their march through the country. The absence of the main army under Lincoln, the retreat of Moultrie, the plundering and devastations of the invaders, and, above all, the dread of the royal auxiliaries, the Indian savages, whose constant practice is to murder women and children, diffused a general panic among the inhabitants, and induced many of them to apply to the British for their protection. New converts to the royal standard endeavored to ingratiate themselves with their protectors by representing the capital as an easy conquest. This flattering prospect induced General Prevost, contrary to his original intention, to pursue his march. Governor Rutledge, with the militia lately encamped at Orangeburg, had set out to join Moultrie at Tulifinny bridge, but, on the second day of their march, advice was received of Moul-

trie's retreat, and that Prevost was pushing towards Charlestown. This intelligence determined the Governor to march with all the force under his command to the defence of the capital.

When Prevost crossed the Savannah river, Charlestown Neck was almost wholly defenceless. An invasion on the land side, by an army marching through the country, was an event so unexpected that no proper provision had been made against it. The British did not continue their march with the same rapidity with which it was begun, but halted two or three days when they had advanced more than half the distance. In this short interval, Lieutenant-Governor Bee, and the gentlemen of the council, made the greatest exertions to fortify the town on the land side. All the houses in the suburbs were burnt. Lines and an abbatis were, in a few days, carried from Ashley to Cooper rivers. Cannon were mounted at proper intervals across the whole extent of Charlestown Neck. The militia in the vicinity were summoned to the defence of Charlestown, and they generally obeyed. Public affairs now appeared in a very singular situation. Lincoln was marching unmolested towards the capital of Georgia, while Prevost was advancing with as little interruption towards the capital of South Carolina. The hurry and confusion that prevailed in the State, and particularly in Charlestown, exceeds all description. The whole country seemed to be in motion. In the north the militia were pushing for the capital. In the south no less than five armies were, at the same time, but for very different purposes, marching through the State. General Moultrie, with a force originally 1,200, but daily diminishing, was retreating before General Prevost, at the head of a British army of 2,000 men. General Lincoln, with an American army of 4,000 men, having re-crossed Savannah river, was in the rear of Prevost, pursuing him with hasty strides to save Charlestown, while Governor Rutledge, with 600 militia men, and Colonel Harris, with a detachment of 250 continental troops, were both hastening, the one from Orangeburg and the other from the vicinity of Augusta, to get in front of Prevost, and either to re-inforce Moultrie or defend the capital, as circumstances might require. Moultrie, Rutledge and Harris, with their respective commands, all reached Charlestown on the 9th and 10th of May, the last having marched nearly forty miles a day for four days successively. Their arrival, together with that of the militia from the northern parts of the State, gave hopes of a successful defence.

On the 11th, 900 of the British army, their main body and baggage being left on the south side of Ashley river, crossed the ferry, and in a few hours appeared before the lines. On

the day that they marched down Charlestown Neck, the infantry of an American legionary corps crossed Cooper river and landed in Charlestown. This was commanded by Brigadier-General Count Pulaski, a Polander of high birth. The men under his command had scarcely arrived two hours when he led them out, and engaged the British cavalry with so much resolution, that the second in command, Colonel Kowatch, and most of his infantry, were killed or wounded. The survivors with difficulty effected their retreat. Pulaski had several successful personal rencontres with individuals of the British cavalry, and on all occasions discovered the greatest intrepidity. The gallant example of this distinguished partizan, courting danger on every occasion, had a considerable influence in dispelling the general panic, and in introducing military sentiments into the minds of men who had heretofore been peaceable citizens.

The British advanced to Watson's, about a mile from the lines. As they were unfurnished for a siege, and had nothing to depend on but the chance of a sudden assault, this was therefore so confidently expected that the whole garrison continued standing to their arms all night. That it might not be made by surprise, tar barrels were lighted up in front of the works. When it was dark, some fancied they saw the enemy near the lines; a false alarm was instantly communicated, and a general discharge of cannon, field-pieces and musketry took place. By this unfortunate mistake, Major Benjamin Huger, a brave officer, an able statesman, and a highly distinguished citizen, was killed by his countrymen. He was without the lines on duty with a party, twelve of whom were either killed or wounded. It was presumed by the garrison that Lincoln, with the army under his command, was in close pursuit of Prevost, but his present situation was unknown to every person within the lines. To gain time in such circumstances was a matter of great consequence. A message was sent to the British commander, requesting to be informed on what terms he was disposed to grant a capitulation, to which he returned an answer offering "peace and protection;" and to such as declined acceptance of the same, "that they might be received as prisoners of war, and their fate be decided by that of the rest of the colonies. On the 12th, General Prevost was informed that his proposal was so dishonorable to the garrison, that it could not be agreed to, and an interview between officers from both armies was requested, to confer on terms. At this interview the officers from the garrison were instructed to propose—"A neutrality during the war between Great Britain and America; and that the question whether the State shall belong to Great Britain, or remain one of the

United Sates, be determined by the treaty of peace between these powers. This proposition being made to Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost, acting as a commissioner in behalf of General Prevost, he answered "that they did not come in a legislative capacity." On a second interview, Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost ended the conference by saying, "That as the garrison was in arms, they must surrender prisoners of war." This being refused, preparations were made for sustaining an immediate assault. The inhabitants, as well as the regular troops, were determined to stand to the lines and defend their country. The next morning, the 13th, at daylight, to the great joy of the whole garrison, it was resounded along the lines, "the enemy is gone." It is probable they began their retreat immediately after the termination of the conference, and were restrained from making the threatened assault by intelligence derived from an intercepted letter from Lincoln, about fifty miles distant, to Moultrie in Charlestown, which was dated May 10th, and concluded thus: "Pray stimulate your people to every exertion for the defence of the town, until the troops here can arrive. Our men are full of spirits. I think they will do honor to themselves, and render service to the public. Do not give up, nor suffer the people to despair."

Count Pulaski, with his cavalry, pursued the British, but they had crossed Ashley river before he came to it. Expresses were sent to General Lincoln to inform him of the retreat of the enemy, and a thousand men were ordered to hold themselves in immediate readiness to go out to his aid. To avoid being between two fires, the British filed off from the main road, by which they came and took post on James Island and the other islands on the sea-coast. While they were encamped on James Island, their motions were constantly watched from the steeple of St. Michael's church, by Peter Timothy, and minutely reported to the commanding officer. The British collected a number of boats, and seemed to be making preparations to invade the town on its water side. The inhabitants expecting an attack every night, were kept in a constant state of alarm, and the little army was subdivided into a number of small guards, posted round the town to prevent a surprise.

While the British were encamped on James Island, about seventy or eighty of the Americans were posted nearly opposite to them, at the plantation of Mr. Matthews on John's Island. On the 20th of May a party of the troops commanded by General Prevost crossed over the narrow river which separates the two islands, surprised the out-sentinel of the Americans, and extorted from him the countersign. Possessed of this criterion, they advanced in security to the second sentinel

and bayonetted him before he could give any alarm. Without being discovered, they then surrounded the house of Mr. Mathews, rushed in on the unprepared Americans, and put several of them, though they made no resistance, to the bayonet. Among the rest, Mr. Robert Barnwell, a young gentleman who adorned a very respectable family by his many virtues, good understanding and sweetness of manners, received no less than seventeen wounds; but he had the good fortune to recover from them all, and still lives an ornament to his country. The British having completed this business, burned the house of Mr. Mathews.

The British and American armies encamped within thirty miles of Charlestown, watching each other's motions, till the 20th of June, when an attack was made on the part of the British army, entrenched at Stono ferry. A feint was to have been made from James Island with a body of militia from Charlestown, at the same time that General Lincoln began the attack from the main; but from mismanagement, and a delay in providing boats, the militia from Charlestown did not reach their place of destination till several hours after the action. The American army consisted of about twelve hundred men. The British force consisted of six or seven hundred men. They had three redoubts, with a line of communication, and field pieces very advantageously posted in the intervals, and the whole secured with an abbatis. That they might be harassed or lulled into security, for several nights preceding the action they were alarmed by small parties. When the real attack was made, two companies of the Seventy-first regiment sallied out to support the pickets. Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson ordered his light-infantry to charge them, on which they instantly retreated. Only nine of their number got safe within their lines. All the men at the British field pieces between their redoubts, were either killed or wounded. The attack was continued for an hour and twenty minutes, and the assailants had manifestly the advantage; yet the appearance of a reinforcement, to prevent which the feint from James Island was intended, made a retreat necessary.

The loss of the Americans on this occasion, in killed and wounded was about one hundred and fifty. Among the former was the gallant Colonel Roberts, whose superior abilities as an artillery officer, commanded the approbation of his countrymen, and rendered his early fall the subject of universal regret.

Soon after this attack, the American militia, impatient of absence from their plantations, generally returned to their homes. About the same time the British left the islands in

the vicinity of Charlestown, retreating from one to another till they arrived at Port Royal and Savannah. The sea-coast of South Carolina, to the southward of Charlestown, is so chequered with islands and intersected with creeks and marshes, as to make the movements of an army extremely difficult. The British were much better provided with boats than the Americans, and therefore could retire with expedition and safety. Various projects were attempted to enable General Lincoln to pursue them. Boats on wheel-carriages, so constructed as to suit the variegated face of the country, were proposed; but before anything of this sort could be completed, the British had retreated to places of security.

This incursion into South Carolina, and subsequent retreat, contributed very little to the advancement of the royal cause; but it added much to the wealth of the officers, soldiers, and followers of the British army, and still more to the distresses of the inhabitants.. The forces under the command of General Prevost marched though the richest settlements of the State, where are the fewest white inhabitants in proportion to the number of slaves. The hapless Africans, allured with hopes of freedom, forsook their owners and repaired in great numbers to the royal army. They endeavored to recommend themselves to their new masters by discovering where their owners had concealed their property, and were assisting in carrying it off. All subordination being destroyed, they became insolent and rapacious, and in some instances exceeded the British in their plunderings and devastations. Collected in great crowds near the royal army, they were seized with the camp fever in such numbers that they could not be accommodated either with proper lodgings or attendance. The British carried out of the State, it is supposed, about three thousand slaves, many of whom were shipped from Georgia and East Florida, and sold in the West Indies. When the the British retreated, they had accumulated so much plunder that they had not the means of removing the whole of it. The vicinity of the American army made them avoid the main land, and go off in great precipitation from one island to another. Many of the horses which they had collected from the inhabitants were lost in ineffectual attempts to transport them over the rivers and marshes. For want of a sufficient number of boats, a considerable part of the negroes were left behind. They had been so thoroughly impressed by the British with the expectation of the severest treatment, and even of certain death from their owners, in case of their returning home, that in order to get off with the retreating army they would sometimes fasten themselves to the sides of the boats. To prevent this dangerous practice, the fingers of some

of them were chopped off, and soldiers were posted with cutlasses and bayonets to oblige them to keep at a proper distance. Many of them, laboring under diseases, afraid to return home, forsaken by their new masters, and destitute of the necessaries of life, perished in the woods. Those who got off with the army were collected on Otter Island, where the camp fever continued to rage. Without medicine, attendance, or the comforts proper for the sick, some hundreds of them expired. Their dead bodies, as they lay exposed in the woods, were devoured by beasts and birds, and to this day the island is strewed with their bones. The British carried with them several rice-barrels full of plate, and household furniture in large quantities, which they had taken from the inhabitants. They had spread over a considerable extent of country, and small parties visited almost every house, stripping it of whatever was most valuable, and rifling the inhabitants of their money, rings, jewels, and other personal ornaments. The repositories of the dead were in several places opened, and the grave itself searched for hidden treasure.* Feather-beds were ripped open for the sake of the ticking. Windows, china-ware, looking-glasses and pictures were dashed to pieces. Not only the larger domestic animals were cruelly and wantonly shot down, but the licentiousness of the soldiery extended so far that, in several places, nothing within their reach, however small and insignificant, was suffered to live. The gardens which had been improved with great care, and ornamented with many foreign productions, were laid waste, and their nicest curiosities destroyed. The houses of the planters were seldom burnt, but in every other way the destruction and depredations committed by the British were enormous.

Soon after the affair at Stono, on the 20th of June, the continental forces under the command of General Lincoln retired to Sheldon. Both armies remained in their respective encampments till the arrival of the French fleet on the coast roused the whole country to immediate activity.

After the conquest of Grenada, in the summer of 1779, Count D'Estaing with the force under his command retired to Cape François. Thence he sailed for the American continent and arrived early in September with a fleet consisting of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. As soon as his arrival on the coast was known, General Lincoln, with the army under his command, marched for Savannah;

* Several of the first settlers of Carolina laid off spots of ground on their plantations for the interment of their dead, when there were no, or very few, public church yards. These private cemeteries are still used by their descendants and others for the same purpose.

and orders were issued for the militia of South Carolina and Georgia to rendezvous immediately near the same place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence. Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger, who had a small command at Sunbury, and Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, who was in force at Beaufort, were ordered to repair to Savannah. Count D'Estaing made repeated declarations, that he could not remain more than fifteen days on shore. Nevertheless the fall of Savannah was considered as certain. It was generally believed that in a few days the British would be stripped of all their southern possessions. Flushed with these romantic hopes, the militia turned out with a readiness that far surpassed their exertions in the preceding campaign. Every aid was given from Charlestown, by sending small vessels to assist the French in their landing; but as the large ships of Count D'Estaing could not come near the shore, this was not effected till the 12th of September. On the 16th, Savannah was summoned to surrender. The garrison requested twenty-four hours to consider of an answer. This request was made with a view of gaining time for the detatchment at Beaufort, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, to join the royal army in Savannah. An enterprise was undertaken to prevent this junction, but it proved unsuccessful. Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland pushed through by Dawfuskies, dragged his boats through a gut, and joined Prevost before the time granted for preparing an answer to D'Estaing's summons had elapsed. The arrival of such a reinforcement, and especially of the brave Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, determined the garrison to risk an assault. The French and Americans, who formed a junction the evening after, were therefore reduced to the necessity of storming or of besieging the garrison. On the evening of the 23d they broke ground. On the 4th of October the besiegers opened with nine mortars, thirty-seven pieces of cannon from the land side, and sixteen from the water. These continued to play with short intervals for four or five days, but without any considerable effect.

It was determined to make an assault. This measure was forced on D'Estaing by his marine officers, who had remonstrated against his continuing to risk so valuable a fleet in its present unrepaired condition on such a dangerous coast in the hurricane season, and at so great a distance from the shore that it might be surprised by a British fleet. In a few days the lines of the besiegers might have been carried into the works of the besieged; but under these critical circumstances no further delay could be admitted. To assault or to raise the seige was the only alternative. Prudence would have dictated the latter; but a sense of honor determined to adopt the

former. The morning of the 9th of October was fixed upon for the attack. Two feints were made with the country militia; and a real attack on the Spring Hill battery with 2,500 French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the Charlestown militia, led by Count D'Estaing and General Lincoln. They marched up to the lines with great boldness; but a heavy and well directed fire from the batteries, and a cross fire from the galleys did such execution as threw the front of the column into confusion. A general retreat of the assailants took place after they had stood the enemy's fire for fifty-five minutes. Count D'Estaing received two wounds; 637 of his troops, and 257 continentals were killed or wounded; of the 350 Charlestown militia, who were in the hottest of the fire, six were wounded and Captain Shepherd killed. The force of the garrison was between two and three thousand, of which about one hundred and fifty were militia. The damage sustained by the besieged was trifling as they fired under cover, and few of the assailants fired at all. Immediately after this unsuccessful assault, the militia almost universally went to their homes. Count D'Estaing re-embarked his troops, artillery and baggage, and left the continent; and General Lincoln's army marched to Charlestown.

Thus ended the campaign of 1779, without anything decisive on either side. After one year, in which the British had overrun the State of Georgia for one hundred and fifty miles from the coast and had penetrated as far as the lines of Charlestown, they were reduced to their original limits in Savannah. All their schemes of co-operation with the tories had failed, and the spirits of that class of the inhabitants, by repeated disappointments, were thoroughly broken. The arrival of the French fleet protracted the execution of a plan formed for turning the force of the war against the southern States. The want of success in the attack on Savannah induced the British commander in New York, soon after Count D'Estaing's departure, to resume it.

SECTION VII.

Campaign of 1780.

No sooner was the departure of the French fleet from the coast of America known at New York, than Sir Henry Clinton set on foot a grand expedition against Charlestown. The campaigns of 1778 and 1779 to the northward, had produced nothing of importance. But he regaled himself with flattering prospects of more easy conquests among the weaker States. The almost uninterrupted march of General Prevost

through the richest parts of South Carolina to the gates of the capital; the conduct of the planters who, on that occasion, were more attentive to secure their property by submission, than to defend it by resistance, together with the recent successful defence of Savannah, all invited the British arms to the southward.

Unfortunately for Carolina, the most formidable attack was made on her capital, at a time when she was least able to defend it. In 1776 a vote of her new government stamped a value on her bills of credit, which in 1780 could not be affixed to twenty times as much of the same nominal currency. At this important juncture, when the public service needed the largest supplies, the paper bills of credit were of the least value. To a want of money was added a want of men. The militia were exhausted with an uninterrupted continuance of hard duty. The winter, to others a time of repose, had been to them a season for most active exertions. The dread of the small pox which, after seventeen years absence, was known to be in Charlestown, discouraged many from repairing to the defence of the capital. The six continental regiments, on the South Carolina establishment, in the year 1777, consisting of 2,400 men; but in the year 1780 they were so much reduced by death, desertion, battles, and the expiration of their terms of service, that they did not exceed 800. Government had neither the policy to forgive nor the courage to punish the numbers who, in the preceding campaign, deserting their country's cause, had repaired for protection to the royal standard of General Prevost. They who stayed at home and submitted, generally saved some part of their property. They who continued with the American army were plundered of everything that could be carried away, and deprived of the remainder as far as was possible by wanton destruction. After events of this kind, it was no easy matter to call forth the militia from their homes to the defence of Charlestown. The repulse at Savannah, impressed the inhabitants with high ideas of the power of Britain. The impossibility of a retreat from an invested town, created in many an aversion from lines and ramparts. The presence of Sir Henry Clinton who, as Commander-in-Chief, could order what reinforcements he pleased, and who would naturally wish by something brilliant to efface the remembrance of his defeat in 1776, concurred with the causes already mentioned to dispirit the country. The North Carolina and Virginia continentals, amounting to 1,500 men, and also two frigates, a twenty-gun ship, and a sloop-of-war, were ordered from the northward for the defence of Charlestown. This was all the aid that could be expected from Congress. The resolution was nevertheless unanimously

taken, in a full house of assembly, to defend the town to the last extremity.

The royal army, destined for the reduction of Charlestown, embarked at New York on the 26th of December 1779. They had a tedious and difficult passage, in which they sustained great damage. This, with their touching at Savannah, made it as late as the 11th of February, 1780, before they landed at the distance of thirty miles from Charlestown. The Assembly, then sitting, immediately broke up, and delegated, "till ten days after their next session, to the Governor, John Rutledge, and such of his council as he could conveniently consult, a power to do everything necessary for the public good, except the taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial." Invested with this authority, he immediately ordered the militia to rendezvous. Though the necessity was great, few obeyed the pressing call. A proclamation was soon after issued, "requiring such of the militia as were regularly draughted, and all the inhabitants and owners of property in the town, to repair to the American standard, and join the garrison immediately, under pain of confiscation." This severe, though necessary measure, produced very little effect. Had Sir Henry Clinton pushed immediately for the town, he might have possessed himself of it in four days after his landing; but that cautious commander adopted the slow method of a regular investiture. At Wappoo, on James Island, he formed a depot and erected fortifications, both on that island and on the main, opposite to the southern and western extremities of the town. On the 29th of March he passed Ashley river, and the third day after broke ground at the distance of eleven hundred yards, and at successive periods erected five batteries on Charlestown Neck. The garrison was equally assiduous in preparing for their defence. The works that had been thrown up in the spring of the year 1779, were strengthened and extended. Lines of defence and redoubts were continued across Charlestown Neck from Cooper to Ashley river. In front of the lines was a strong abbatis, and a wet ditch picketted on the nearest side. Between the abbatis and the lines deep holes were dug at short distances from each other. The lines were made particularly strong on the right and left, and so constructed as to rake the wet ditch in almost its whole extent. In the centre a strong citadel was erected. Works were thrown up on all sides of the town where a landing was practicable. The continentals, with the Charlestown battalion of artillery, manned the lines in front of the British on the Neck between Ashley and Cooper rivers. The works on South Bay and other parts of the town, not immediately exposed to danger, were defended by the militia. The marine force of

the State had been increased by converting four schooners into gallies, and by the armed ships Bricole and Truite, which for that purpose had been lately purchased from the French. The inferior numbers of the garrison forbade any attempts to oppose Sir Henry Clinton before his landing on the main. Immediately after which Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, with a corps of light infantry, briskly attacked his advanced guards. In this skirmish, Captain Bowman was killed, Major Hyrne, and seven privates wounded. Though the lines were no more than field works, yet Sir Henry treated them with the respectful homage of three parallels, and made his advances with the greatest circumspection. From the third to the tenth of April, the first parallel was completed, and immediately after, the town was summoned to surrender. On the 12th, the batteries were opened, and an almost incessant fire kept up.

A British fleet, commanded by Admiral Arbuthnot consisting of the Renown of fifty guns, the Romulus and Roebuck each of forty-four, the Richmond, Le Blonde, Raleigh, Virginia, each of thirty-two guns, and the Sandwich armed ship, crossed the bar in front of Rebellion road on the 20th of March, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The force opposed to this was the Bricole of forty-four guns, the Providence and Boston, each of thirty-two guns, the Queen of France of twenty-eight, L'Avanture and the Truite, each of twenty-six, the Ranger and brig General Lincoln, each of twenty, and the brig Notre Dame of sixteen guns. The first object of Commodore Whipple, who commanded the American naval force, was to prevent Admiral Arbuthnot from crossing the bar; but on the near approach of the British fleet he retreated to fort Moultrie, and in a few days after to Charlestown. The crews and guns of all his vessels, except the Ranger, were put on shore to reinforce the batteries. On the 9th of April Admiral Arbuthnot weighed anchor at Five Fathom Hole, and taking advantage of a strong southerly wind, and flowing tide, passed fort Moultrie without stopping to engage it. Colonel Pinckney, who commanded on Sullivan's Island, with three hundred men, kept up a brisk and severe fire on the ships in their passage. Twenty-seven seamen were killed or wounded. The Richmond's fore-topmast was shot away, and the ships in general sustained damage. The Acetus transport ran aground near Haddrell's point. Captain Gadsden, detached with two field-pieces, fired into her with such effect that the crew set her on fire, and retreated in boats to the other vessels. The royal fleet came to anchor, in about two hours, near the remains of fort Johnson on James Island, within long shot of the town batteries. To prevent their running up Cooper river,

from which they might have enfiladed the lines, was the next object. With this intention eleven vessels had been sunk in the channel opposite to the Exchange. The Ranger frigate and two galleys were stationed to the northward of it, to cooperate with the batteries on shore in defending these obstructions, and to attack any armed vessels that might force a passage through Hog-Island channel.

Though the greatest exertions had been made by the gentlemen in power to reinforce the garrison, and to strengthen the lines, yet their endeavors were not seconded by the people. No more country militia could be brought into the town, and very few could be persuaded to embody in the country. Seven hundred continentals, commanded by General Woodford, who had marched five hundred miles in twenty-eight days, arrived in Charlestown on the 10th of April. This was the only reinforcement the garrison received during the siege, though the communication between the town and country was open until the middle of April.

The fire of the besiegers soon discovered itself to be much superior to that of the beseiged. The former had the advantage of twenty-one mortars and royals; the latter only of two. While the lines of approach advanced with such rapidity that the second parallel, at the distance of three hundred yards was completed on the 20th, the lines of the beseiged in many places sustained great damage. On the 14th, the American cavalry, as shall be more particularly hereafter related, was surprised at Monk's Corner, and totally routed. The British immediately extended themselves to the eastward of Cooper river, and took post with two hundred and fifty cavalry, and five hundred infantry, in the vicinity of Wappetaw. On the 16th General Lincoln called a council of officers, who were of opinion that the weak state of the garrison made it improper to detach a number sufficient to attack this separate corps. The only practicable route of an evacuation was to the right of the town. To deter Lincoln from attempting this change of position, the British continued to extend and increase their force in that quarter. On the 20th and 21st, a council of officers was again called to deliberate on the important subject of an evacuation. They were of opinion, "that it was unadvisable, because of the opposition made to it by the civil authority and the inhabitants, and because, even if they should succeed in defeating a large body of the enemy posted in their way, they had not a sufficiency of boats to cross the Santee before they might be overtaken by the whole British army." The council of war recommended a capitulation with the besiegers as the most eligible mode of effecting the desired evacuation. In this it was proposed that the security of the in-

habitants, and a safe unmolested retreat for the garrison, with baggage and field-pieces to the northeast of Charlestown, should be granted on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, as an equivalent for the quiet possession of the town, its fortifications and dependencies. These terms were instantly rejected, and from that time the dispirited garrison made a languid resistance.

The inferior numbers of the besieged forbade repeated sallies. The only one made during the siege was on the 24th of April, soon after the rejection of the offered terms of capitulation. This was conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson, who led out two hundred men, and attacked the advanced working-party of the British, killed several, and took eleven prisoners. In this affair Captain Moultrie, of the South Carolina line, was killed. The only plan now left for an evacuation, was to withdraw privately under cover of the night. A council of war held on the 26th pronounced this measure impracticable with the present numbers of the garrison. While General Lincoln was pressed with these difficulties, the British flag was seen flying on fort Moultrie. After the ships had passed Sullivan's Island, Colonel Pinckney, with one hundred and fifty of the men under his command, was withdrawn from that post to reinforce the besieged army in Charlestown. The feeble remainder of that garrison, mostly militia, on the 6th of May surrendered without firing a gun, to Captain Hudson of the British navy. On the next day Sir Henry Clinton began a correspondence, and renewed his former terms. At this time all the flesh-provisions of the garrison were not sufficient to furnish rations for the space of a week. There was no prospects either of reinforcements, or of supplies from the country. The engineers gave it as their opinion that the lines could not be defended ten days longer, and that they might at any time be carried by assault in ten minutes. The same obstacles in the way of an evacuation still existed with increased force. General Lincoln was disposed to close with the terms offered, as far as they respected his army; but some demur was made in behalf of the citizens. Sir Henry Clinton insisted on their being all prisoners on parole. He also evaded any determinate answer to the article which requested leave for those who did not choose to submit to the British government, to sell their estates and leave the province. The royalists in the State having had this indulgence at all times since the abolition of regal government, it was hoped that on a proper representation of these matters, in a free Conference, the generosity of the beseigers would soften their demands. This Conference was asked by General Lincoln, without directly refusing what was offered. Contrary to the expectation of the besieged, an answer was returned that hostilities should re-

commence at eight o'clock. When that hour arrived the most vigorous onset of the besiegers was immediately expected by the garrison, But instead of this neither army fired a gun for some time. Both seemed to dread the consequences of an assault, and to wish for a continuance of the truce, and a reconsideration of the proposed articles. At nine P. M., firing commenced from the garrison, and was kept up on both sides for several hours with unusual briskness, and did more execution than had taken place in the same length of time since the commencement of the siege. Shells and carcasses were thrown incessantly into almost all parts of the town. Several houses were burnt, and many more were with difficulty saved. By this time the British had completed their third parallel. Besides the cannon and mortars which played on the garrison at the distance of less than a hundred yards, rifles were fired by the Hessian jagers with such effect, that very few escaped who showed themselves above the lines. On the 11th the British crossed the wet ditch by Sap, and advanced within twenty-five yards of the lines of the besieged. On this day petitions were presented from a great majority of the inhabitants, and of the country militia, praying General Lincoln to accede to the terms offered by Sir Henry Clinton. Under these circumstances Lincoln found it necessary to assent to the articles as proposed without any conference or explanation.

This was the first instance in the American war of an attempt to defend a town; and the unsuccessful event, with its consequences, makes it probable that if this method had been generally adopted the independence of America could not have been so easily supported.

Much censure was undeservedly cast on General Lincoln for risking his army within the lines. Though the contrary plan was undoubtedly the best in general, yet he had particular reasons to justify his deviation from the example of the illustrious Commander-in-Chief of the American army. The reinforcements promised him were fully sufficient for the security of the town. The Congress and the governments of North and South Carolina gave him ground to count upon nine thousand nine hundred men. From a variety of causes, some of which have been already stated, this paper army, including the militia of both Carolinas, was very little more than one-third of that number. Notwithstanding this unfortunate termination of his command in the southern district, great praise is due to General Lincoln for his judicious and spirited conduct, in baffling, for three months, the greatly superior force of Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot. Though Charlestown and the southern army were lost, yet, by their long protracted defence, the British plans were not only retarded, but

deranged; and North Carolina, as will hereafter be made evident, was saved for the remainder of the year 1780.

The return of prisoners transmitted by Sir Henry Clinton, on the surrender of Charlestown, was very large. It comprehended every adult free man of the town, between two and three thousand sailors who had been taken from the shipping and put into the batteries, and the militia of both Carolinas, then in garrison. These swelled the number to upwards of 5,000, and afforded ample materials for a splendid account of the importance of the conquest; but the real number of the privates of the continental army was 1,977, and of these 500 were in the hospitals. The number of the captive officers was also great. During the thirty days of the siege, only twenty American soldiers deserted. The militia and sailors were stationed in those batteries which were not much exposed, and therefore they suffered very little. Of the continentals who manned the lines in front of the besiegers, eighty-nine were killed, and one hundred and thirty-eight wounded; among the former were Colonel Parker, an officer who had often distinguished himself by his gallantry and good conduct, and Captain Peyton, both of the Virginia line; Philip Neyle, Aid-de-Camp to General Moultrie; Captains Mitchel and Templeton, and Lieutenant Gilbank. The Charlestown militia artillery, who were stationed at the lines and did equal duty with the continentals, had three men killed; Adjutant Warham and seven privates wounded; about twenty of the inhabitants who remained in their houses, were killed by random-shot in the town. Upwards of thirty houses were burnt, and many others greatly damaged.

After the British took possession of the town, the arms taken from the army and inhabitants, amounting to five thousand, were lodged in a laboratory near a large quantity of cartridges and of loose powder. By the imprudence of the guard in snapping the guns and pistols, this powder took fire, blew up the house, dispersed the burning fragments of it, which set fire to and destroyed the workhouse, the jail and the old barracks. The British guard, consisting of fifty men, stationed at this place, was destroyed, and their mangled bodies dashed by the violent explosion against the neighboring houses in Archdale street. Several persons in the vicinity shared the same fate. Many of the fire-arms were loaded; they, with the cartridges going off, sent the instruments of death in all directions. Upwards of a hundred persons lost their lives on this occasion.

In the tedious and difficult winter passage of the royal army from New York to Charlestown, the horses destined to mount the British cavalry were lost. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton,

after he landed, in a little time obtained a fresh supply and began the career of his victories. Soon after he had procured horses to mount his cavalry, he joined a body of about a thousand men, who had marched through the country from Savannah, under the command of General Patterson. On the 18th of March, 1780, a detachment from his corps surprised a party of American militia, about eighty in number, at Saltcatcher bridge, killed and wounded several of them and dispersed the remainder. Five days after, Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with his legion, fell in with another small party of mounted militia, near Ponpon, who immediately retreated. In the pursuit, three were killed, one wounded, and four taken prisoners. His next rencontre was on the 27th with Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, at the head of his regular corps of horse, between the ferry on Ashley river and Rantowle's bridge, on Stono. The Americans had the advantage, took seven prisoners and drove back the cavalry of the British legion; but for want of infantry, durst not pursue them. At the beginning of the siege, General Lincoln ordered the regular cavalry, amounting to three hundred men, to keep the field; and the country militia were ordered to act as infantry in their support. The militia, on various pretences, refused to attach themselves to the cavalry. This important body of horse, which was intended to cover the country, and keep open a communication between it and the town, was surprised on the 14th of April, at Monk's corner, by a strong party of British, led by Lieutenant-Colonels Tarleton and Webster. A negro slave, for a sum of money, conducted the British from Goose creek, in the night, through unfrequented paths. About twenty-five of the Americans were killed or taken. They who escaped, were obliged for several days to conceal themselves in the swamps. Upwards of thirty horses were lost, and became a seasonable supply to the British, who were but badly mounted. After this catastrophe, all armed parties of Americans, for some time, abandoned that part of the State which lies to the southward of Santee.

Soon after this surprise, Colonel Anthony Walton White arrived, and took the command of the remains of the cavalry. At the head of this corps, mounted a second time with great difficulty, he crossed to the southward of the Santee, and, on the 6th of May, 1780, came up with a small British party, took them prisoners and conducted them to Lanneau's ferry. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with a party of horse, was dispatched to the ferry and arrived there in a few minutes after the American cavalry, and instantly charged them with a superior force. From the want of boats and of infantry, a retreat was impracticable, and resistance unavailing. A route

took place. Major Call and seven others, escaped on horseback, by urging their way through the advancing British cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, Major Jameson, and five or six privates, saved themselves by swimming across the Santee. About thirty were killed, wounded, or taken. The remainder got off by concealing themselves in the swamps. The British prisoners, who were in a boat crossing the river, being called upon by their friends to come back, rose on their guard and were released.

After the landing of the British in 1780, depredations similar to those already described, recommenced. As the reduction of Carolina was then confidently expected, they did not commit such wanton wastes as General Prevost's army; but it is hard to tell which exceeded the other in plundering. As the royal army of 1780 was much more numerous, and extended over the country on all sides of Charlestown, and had the convenience of a large fleet on the coast to carry off their spoil, they made much greater collections of bulky articles. They possessed themselves in particular of indigo to the value of many thousand dollars. From mistaken policy, the merchants and others had stored the greater part of their commodities without the lines, and very often on or near the water. These collections very generally fell into the hands of the conquerors. The British, on this occasion, plundered by system, formed a general stock, and appointed commissaries of captures. Spoil collected this way was disposed of for the benefit of the royal army. The quantity brought to market was so great that, though it sold uncommonly low, yet the dividend of a Major General was upwards of four thousand British guineas. The private plunder of individuals, on their separate account, was often more than their proportion of the public stock. Over and above what was sold in Carolina, several vessels were sent abroad to market, loaded with rich spoil, taken from the inhabitants. Upwards of two thousand plundered negroes were shipped off at one embarkation. Several private gentlemen lost in the invasions of 1779 and 1780, from five hundred to two thousand dollars worth of plate, and other property in proportion. The slaves a second time flocked to the British army, and, being crowded together, were visited by the camp fever. The small pox, which had not been in the province for seventeen years, broke out among them, and spread rapidly. From these two diseases, and the impossibility of their being provided with proper accommodations and attendance in the British encampments, great numbers of them died, and were left unburied in the woods.

Never did any people more mistake their true interest than the inhabitants of South Carolina, in permitting the British

to obtain foothold in their country. Exhausted with the fatigues, and impoverished by the consequences of a war into which they had been gradually drawn, without any intention originally of pushing it so far, some flattered themselves that the reduction of Charlestown would terminate their sufferings; but that event proved to them the commencement of still greater evils.

The capital having surrendered, the next object was to secure the general submission of the inhabitants. To this end the victors posted garrisons in different parts of the country, and marched with a large body of their troops over the Santee towards that extremity of the State which borders on the most populous settlements of North Carolina. This caused an immediate retreat of some parties of Americans who had advanced into the upper parts of South Carolina, with the expectation of relieving Charlestown. Among the corps which had come forward with that view, there was one commanded by Colonel Buford, which consisted of three or four hundred continental infantry and a few horsemen. Colonel Tarleton, with about seven hundred horse and foot, was dispatched in quest of this party. That enterprising officer, having mounted his infantry, marched one hundred miles in fifty-four hours, came up with them at the Waxhaws, and demanded their surrender on terms similar to those granted to the continentals taken in Charlestown. This being refused, an action immediately ensued. Buford committed two capital mistakes in this affair. One was his sending his wagons and artillery away before the engagement. The wagons might have served as a breast-work to defend his men against the attacks of the cavalry. Another mistake was ordering his men not to fire till the enemy were within ten yards. A single discharge made but little impression on the advancing British horsemen. Before it could be repeated, the assailants were in contact with their adversaries, cutting them down with their sabres. The Americans, finding resistance useless, sued for quarters, but their submission produced no cessation of hostilities. Some of them, after they had ceased to resist, lost their hands, others their arms, and almost every one was mangled with a succession of wounds. The charge was urged till five in six of the whole number of the Americans were, by Tarleton's official account of this bloody scene, either killed or so badly wounded as to be incapable of being moved from the field of battle; and by the same account this took place, though they made such ineffectual opposition as only to kill five and wound twelve of the British. Lord Cornwallis bestowed on Tarleton the highest encomiums for this enterprise, and recommended him in a special manner to

royal favor. This barbarous massacre gave a more sanguinary turn to the war. Tarleton's quarters became proverbial, and in the subsequent battles a spirit of revenge gave a keener edge to military resentments.

This total route of all the continental troops of the southern States, which were not made prisoners by the capitulation of Charlestown, together with the universal panic occasioned by the surrender of that capital, suspended for about six weeks all military opposition to the progress of the British army. In this hour of distress, to the friends of independence the royal commander, by proclamation, denounced the extremity of vengeance against those of the inhabitants who should continue, by force of arms, to oppose the re-establishment of British government. The conquerors did not rest the royal cause exclusively on threats. On the first of June, nineteen days after the surrender of Charlestown, Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commissioners for restoring peace to the revolted colonies, by proclamation, offered "to the inhabitants, with a few exceptions, pardon for their past treasonable offences, and a re-instatement in the possession of all those rights and immunities which they heretofore had enjoyed under a free British government, exempt from taxation except by their own legislatures." These specious offers, together with the impossibility of their fleeing with their families and effects, and the want of an army to which the militia of the State might repair, induced the people in the country to abandon all schemes of further resistance. The militia to the southward of Charlestown sent in a flag to the commanding officer of the royal detachment at Beaufort, and obtained terms similar to those granted to the inhabitants of the capital. At Camden, the inhabitants met the British with a flag, and negotiated for themselves. The people of Ninety-Six assembled to deliberate on what course they should pursue. Being informed that the British were advancing to that part of the State, they sent a flag to the commanding officer, from whom they learned that Sir Henry Clinton had delegated full powers to Captain Richard Pearis to treat with them. Articles of capitulation were immediately proposed, and soon after ratified, by which they were promised the same security for their persons and property which British subjects enjoyed. Excepting the extremities of the State, which border on North Carolina, the inhabitants who continued in the country generally preferred submission to resistance. The difference between evacuating and defending towns became apparent, and fully proved that the first was the best plan of defence for America.

Though the progress of the British arms was rapid, yet it

was far short of what was originally expected. Their schemes had been deranged as to time, and new events made it necessary for them to divide their forces and to alter their plans. Intelligence was received by Sir Henry Clinton, about the time of the surrender of Charlestown, that a large number of land forces, and a French fleet, consisting of seven sail-of-the-line and five frigates, commanded by M. De Ternay, was to have sailed from France so early in the year that its arrival on the American coast might be soon expected. This induced the Commander-in-Chief of the royal army to re-embark for New York early in June, with the greatest part of his army. Though the French fleets gained at this time no direct advantages for their American allies, yet they completely deranged the plan of British operations.

On the departure of Sir Henry Clinton from Charlestown, Lord Cornwallis was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the southern department, with about four thousand men. This force, though far short of what was originally intended for southern operations, was deemed fully sufficient for the purpose of extending the British conquests.

The object hitherto pursued by the British commanders with regard to the inhabitants of South Carolina, was to induce them to remain peaceably at their homes. To this end they accepted of their submission on very easy terms. All, with a few exceptions, who applied, obtained either paroles as prisoners or protections as British subjects. They who preferred the latter were required to subscribe a declaration of their allegiance to the King of Great Britain, but in the hurry of business this frequently was omitted, and the privileges of British subjects were freely bestowed on some without any engagements.

The general submission of the inhabitants was followed by an unusual calm. The British believed that the State of South Carolina was thoroughly conquered, but they soon found that the disguise which fear had imposed subsisted no longer than the present danger. Their experience in America had not yet taught them enough of human nature to distinguish a forced submission, in a temporary panic, from a cordial return to their former allegiance. Subsequent events proved that a country is unsubdued as long as the minds of the people are actuated by an hostile spirit.

All military opposition being suspended, the royal commanders, supposing their work in South Carolina to be completely finished, began to extend their views to the adjacent States. To facilitate their future operations, they conceived a scheme of obtaining substantial service from their new subjects. In the prosecution of this business, their policy soon lost what arms had gained. While some of the inhabitants

were felicitating themselves in having obtained a respite from the calamities of war, they were no less astonished than confounded by a proclamation, in which they were called upon to take arms in support of royal government. All paroles given to prisoners not taken by capitulation, and who were not in confinement at the surrender of Charlestown, were declared, on the third of June, 1780, by the Commander-in-Chief, "to be null and void after the twentieth of the same month, and the holders of them were called upon to resume the character of British subjects, and to take an active part in forwarding military operations, or to be considered and treated as rebels against his majesty's government." This extraordinary step was taken without any pretence of violation of parole on the part of the prisoners. With this proclamation, and the enrollment of the militia, commenced the declension of British authority. Many had applied for paroles and protection from the fond expectation that they should be indulged with a residence on their estates, and be at full liberty to prosecute their private business. Numbers who, from motives of fear or convenience, had submitted, still retained an affection for their American brethren, and shuddered at the thought of taking arms against them. A great number, considering themselves released from their parole by the proclamation, conceived that they had a right to arm against the British, and were induced to do so from the royal menace, that they who did not enroll themselves as British subjects must expect to be treated as enemies. A greater number found it convenient to exchange their paroles for protection. To sacrifice all and leave the country, required a degree of fortitude that is the lot of few. To take protection, and to enroll themselves as militia under the royal standard, were events wholly unexpected when they submitted as prisoners of war. They conceived themselves reduced to a very hard alternative. They submitted, but their subsequent conduct made it probable that this was done, in many cases, with a secret reservation of breaking the compulsory tie when a proper opportunity should present itself. If this severe alternative had never been imposed, and if the people had been indulged in the quiet possession of their property and domestic ease, it would have been difficult for Congress to have made adequate exertions for rescuing the State out of the hands of the British. But from a concurrence of causes, about this time, there was formed a strong party disposed to do and suffer more for the expulsion of their new masters than they could be persuaded to do six months before to prevent the country from falling into their hands.

The situation of the inhabitants of the town was different

from that of the country. As they had a right, by the capitulation, to remain at their homes on parole they were excepted from the alternative offered by the proclamation of the third of June; other methods were therefore used to compel them to become British subjects. Immediately after the surrender of Charlestown a few persons, attached to the British government, prepared an address to the General and Admiral, congratulating them on their conquest. This was signed by two hundred and ten of the inhabitants; the greater part of whom had been in arms against the British during the seige, and among whom were a few who had been leaders in the popular government. In answer to their address they were promised the privileges and protection of British subjects, on subscribing a test of their allegiance and of their willingness to support the royal cause. These addressers, who thus decidedly took part with the British, immediately made an invidious distinction between subjects and prisoners and became the instigators of every severity against those who chose to remain on parole. As they had revolted from the cause of America, that they might be kept in countenance, they labored to draw others into the same predicament. This example of exchanging paroles for protection was soon followed by many of their fellow-citizens. Those of them who owned estates in the country, had no security by capitulation, for any property out of the lines unless they became subjects. This induced persons so circumstanced to join their conquerors. To oblige them universally to return to their allegiance, there was a succession of proclamations, each abridging the privileges of prisoners. Subjects were allowed to sue for their debts before the British board of police, but prisoners were denied all benefit of that court. Though they were liable to suits they had no security for the payment of their debts, but the honor of their debtors. The paroles granted to prisoners, after the surrender of the town, were much more limited than might have been expected. The citizens of the town were restrained from going out of the lines, or on the water, without special permission. This, when applied for, was sometimes wantonly refused; and on other occasions might be obtained for money. Ineffectual attempts were made to obtain more generous limits, but no extension was granted; and they who seemed averse from signing the offered paroles were informed that, in case of an absolute refusal, they must expect close confinement. These shackles sat very uneasy on free citizens who had heretofore been accustomed to the fullest enjoyment of personal liberty; but no relaxation could be obtained on any other condition than that of professing a return to their allegiance. The conquerors, in the most perfect confidence of keeping the province and of

extending their conquests, valued themselves much upon their generosity in being willing to receive as British subjects the citizens whom they viewed in the light of vanquished rebels. Under the influence of this opinion they laughed at the folly, and resented the ingratitude and impudence of those who chose to remain in the character of prisoners. Such persons met with every discouragement, and at the same time the door of readmission to the privileges of subjects was thrown wide open. This made some martyrs, but more hypocrites. A numerous class of people were reduced to the alternative of starving or suing for protection. Those inhabitants of Charlestown, who were of the Hebrew nation, and others who were shopkeepers, were, while prisoners, encouraged to make purchases from the British merchants who came with the conquering army; and after they had contracted large debts of this kind, were precluded by proclamation from selling the goods they had purchased unless they assumed the name and character of British subjects. Mechanics and others were allowed, for some months after the surrender, to follow their respective occupations; but, as they could not compel payment for their services, repeated losses soon convinced them of the convenience of British protection. Great numbers in all communities are wholly indifferent what form of government they live under. They can turn with the times, and submit with facility to the present ruling power whatsoever it may be. The low state of American affairs in the summer of 1780 induced a belief among many of the inhabitants that Congress, from necessity, had abandoned the idea of contending for the Southern States. The resolutions of that body, disavowing this imputation, were carefully concealed from the prisoners. Many believing that South Carolina would finally remain a British province, and being determined to save their estates under every form of government, concluded that the sooner they submitted the less they would lose. The negroes and other property of individuals had been seized by the British during the siege. Prisoners on parole had no chance of repossessing themselves of any part of this plunder, though subjects were allowed to put in their claim, and were sometimes successful. A party always attached to royal government, though they had conformed to the laws of the State, rejoiced in the revolution, and sincerely returned to their allegiance; but their number was inconsiderable in comparison with the multitude who were obliged by necessity, or induced by convenience, to accept of British protection.

The inhabitants of the country, for the most part, lay more at the unconditional mercy of the conquerors than the citizens of the capital. Those who refused to give up their paroles,

and did not flee out of the country, were generally removed from their families and confined to some of the islands on the sea-coast; while their property became the spoil and plunder of a rapacious army. In this trying situation, the various ruling passions of individuals appeared without disguise. Some men of the largest fortunes and who had been promoted to exalted stations, both civil and military, relinquished the service of the State for present ease and convenience. A few of this character, who were entirely out of the way of personal danger, and in the full enjoyment of the privileges of freemen, voluntarily returned and bowed their necks to the conquerors. In direct contradiction to the whole tenor of their past conduct, they attempted to apologize for their inconsistency by declaring that they had never aimed at independence, and were always averse from an alliance with France. The mischievous effects of negro slavery were, at this time, abundantly apparent. Several who had lived in ease and affluence from the produce of their lands, cultivated by the labor of slaves, had not fortitude enough to dare to be poor. Sentiments of honor, and love of their country, made them wish to preserve a consistency of conduct by refusing submission to British government; but the impossibility of supporting themselves by their own exertions, counteracted every generous resolution. The conflict of contrary passions, and the distress of the times, drove several to the excessive use of spirituous liquors, which proved the source of diseases and often destroyed life.

Though numbers broke through the solemn ties by which they had voluntarily bound themselves to support the cause of America, illustrious sacrifices were made at the shrine of liberty; several submitted to a distressing exile, or a more intolerable confinement. The proprietors of some of the best estates in South Carolina suffered them to remain in the power and possession of the conquerors, rather than stain their honor by deserting their country. The rich staked their fortunes; but in the humble walks of obscurity were found several of the middling and poorer class of citizens, who may be truly said to have staked their lives on the cause of America; for they renounced the comforts subservient to health in warm climates, and contented themselves with a scanty portion of the plainest necessaries of life in preference to joining the enemies of independence. In this crisis of danger to the liberties of America, the ladies of South Carolina conducted themselves with more than spartan magnanimity. They gloried in the appellation of rebel ladies; and though they withstood repeated solicitations to grace public entertainments, with their presence, yet they crowded on board prison-ships, and other places of confinement, to solace their suffering countrymen.

While the conquerors were regaling themselves at concerts and assemblies, they could obtain very few of the fair sex to associate with them; but no sooner was an American officer introduced as a prisoner, than his company was sought for and his person treated with every possible mark of attention and respect. On other occasions the ladies in a great measure retired from the public eye, wept over the distresses of their country, and gave every proof of the warmest attachment to its suffering cause. In the height of the British conquests, when poverty and ruin seemed the unavoidable portion of every adherent to the independence of America, the ladies in general discovered more firmness than the men. Many of them, like guardian angels, preserved their husbands from falling in the hour of temptation when interest and convenience had almost gotten the better of honor and patriotism. Among the numbers who were banished from their families and whose property was seized by the conquerors, many examples could be produced of ladies cheerfully parting with their sons, husbands, and brothers, exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance, and repeatedly entreating them never to suffer family attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the progress of the war, they were also comprehended under a general sentence of banishment, with equal resolution they parted with their native country and the many endearments of home—followed their husbands into prison-ships and distant lands, where, though they had long been in the habit of giving, they were reduced to the necessity of receiving charity. They renounced the present gratifications of wealth, and the future prospects of fortunes for their growing offspring—adopted every scheme of economy, and, though born in affluence, and habituated to attendance, betook themselves to labor.

Whilst the conquerors were indefatigable in their endeavors to strengthen the party for royal government by the addition of new subjects, the American were not inattentive to their interests. During the siege of Charlestown, General Lincoln in the most pressing manner, requested Governor Rutledge, with his council, to go out of town; on the idea that the civil authority of the State would be exerted to much greater advantage in the country than in the besieged metropolis. On the 12th of April, 1780, he left Charlestown. Every exertion was made by him to embody the country militia, and to bring them forward for the relief of the besieged capital. Failing in this, he attempted to make a stand to the north of the Santee. The reduction of the town, with the army enclosed, occasioned such a general panic among the militia that they could not be persuaded to second his views. Governor Rutledge in a

little time retired to the northward, where he was more successful in his negotiations with North Carolina, Virginia, and Congress. Soon after, he returned to South Carolina, and gave vigor, union, and force to the inhabitants in their exertions against British government.

During the siege, expresses were sent by General Lincoln to Congress, the States of North Carolina and Virginia, representing the unpromising appearance of affairs in South Carolina. In consequence of these several requisitions, Congress determined that a considerable detachment from their main army should be immediately marched to the southward. The State of North Carolina, also, ordered a large body of their militia to take the field, and to be relieved every three months. These stamina of a second southern army were originally designed to compel the British to raise the siege of Charlestown; but being too late for that, they became a respectable check to the extension of their conquests.

As the British advanced to the upper country of South Carolina, a considerable number of the determined friends of independence retreated before them, and took refuge in North Carolina. In this class was Colonel Sumpter, a gentleman who had formerly commanded one of the continental regiments, and who was known to possess a great share of bravery and other military talents. In a very little time after he had forsaken his home, a detachment of the British turned his wife and family out of doors, burned the house and every thing that was in it. A party of these exiles from South Carolina, who had convened in North Carolina, made choice of Colonel Sumpter to be their leader. At the head of this little band of freemen he soon returned to his own State, and took the field against the victorious British. He made this gallant effort at a time when the inhabitants had generally abandoned the idea of supporting their own independence, and when he had every difficulty to encounter. The State was no longer in a condition to pay, clothe, or feed the troops who had enrolled themselves under his command. His followers were, in a great measure, unfurnished with arms and ammunition, and they had no magazines from which they might draw a supply. The iron tools on the neighboring farms were worked up for their use by common blacksmiths, into rude weapons of war. They supplied themselves, in part, with bullets by melting the pewter with which they were furnished by private housekeepers. They sometimes came to battle when they had not three rounds a man; and some were obliged to keep at a distance, till, by the fall of others, they were supplied with arms. When they proved victorious, they were obliged to rifle the dead and wounded of their arms and ammunition

to equip them for their next engagement. At the head of these volunteers Colonel Sumpter penetrated into South Carolina, and recommenced a military opposition to the British after it had been suspended for about six weeks. This unlooked-for impediment to the extension of British conquests roused all the passions which disappointed ambition can inspire. The late conquerors having in their official dispatches asserted, "that the inhabitants from every quarter had repaired to the detatchments of the royal army, and to the garrison of Charlestown, to declare their allegiance to the King, and to offer their services in arms in support of his government; that in many instances they had brought in as prisoners their former oppressors or leaders; and that there were few men in South Carolina that were not either their prisoners or in arms with them;" and now, finding armed parties suddenly appearing in favor of independence, were filled with indignation. Their successes had flattered them with hopes of distinguished rank among the conquerors of America; but these unexpected hostilities made them fear that their names would be enrolled among those who, by pompous details of British victories, and exaggerated pictures of American sufferings, had deceived the people of England into a continued support of an expensive and ruinous war. Forgetting their experience in the northern States, they had believed the submission of the inhabitants to be sincere; making no allowance for that propensity in human nature which leads mankind, when in the power of others, to frame their intelligence with more attention to what is agreeable than to what is true; the British for some time conceived that they had little to fear on the south side of Virginia. When experience convinced them of the fallacy of their hopes, they were transported with rage against the inhabitants. Without taking any share of the blame to themselves for their policy in constraining men to an involuntary submission, they charged them with studied duplicity and treachery. Lenient measures were laid aside for those which were dictated by the spirit of revenge. Nor were opportunities long wanting for the indulgence of this malignant passion. Lord Rawdon, whose temper was soured by disappointment, and whose breast was agitated with rage against the new subjects for their unmeaning submissions, on the first rumor of an advancing American army, called on the inhabitants in and near Camden to take up arms against their approaching countrymen; and confined in the common jail those who refused. In the midst of summer, upwards of one hundred and sixty persons were shut up in one prison; and twenty or thirty of them, though citizens of the most respectable characters, were loaded with irons. Mr. James Bradley, Mr.

Strother, Colonel Few, Mr. Kershaw, Captain Boykin, Colonel Alexander, Mr. Irwin, Colonel Winn, Colonel Hunter, and Captain John Chesnut, were in the number of those who were subjected to these indignities.

The friends of independence having once more taken the field in South Carolina, a party of the corps commanded by Colonel Sumpter, consisting of one hundred and thirty-three men, on the 12th of July, 1780, engaged at Williams' Plantation, in the upper parts of South Carolina, with a detachment of the British troops and a large body of tories commanded by Captain Huck. They were posted in a lane, both ends of which were entered at the same time by the Americans. In this unfavorable position they were speedily routed and dispersed. Colonel Ferguson, of the British militia, Captain Huck, and several others, were killed. This was the first advantage gained over the royal forces since their landing in the beginning of the year. At the very moment this unexpected attack was made, a number of women were on their knees, vainly soliciting Captain Huck for his mercy in behalf of their families and property. During his command he had distressed the inhabitants by every species of insult and injury. He had also shocked them with his profanity. In a very particular manner he displayed his enmity to the Presbyterians, by burning the library and dwelling-house of their clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Simpson, and all bibles which contained the Scots translation of the psalms. These proceedings, no less impolitic than impious, inspired the numerous devout people of that district with an unusual animation. A warm love for independence blended itself with a religious fervor, and these two passions reciprocally added strength to each other. The inhabitants of that part of the State generally arranged themselves under the command of Colonel Sumpter, and opposed the British with the enthusiasm of men called upon to defend not only their civil liberties, but their holy religion. The effects of this ardor were very sensibly felt. Colonel Sumpter was soon reinforced to the number of six hundred men. At the head of this party, on the 30th of July, 1780, he made a spirited but unsuccessful attack on the British post at Rocky Mount. Without delay he marched in quest of other British detachments, and in eight days after successfully attacked one of their posts at the Hanging Rock, in which was a considerable force of regulars and tories. The Prince of Wales' regiment, which defended this place, was nearly annihilated, and a large body of tories, which had advanced from North Carolina under Colonel Brian, was completely routed and dispersed.

It had been for some time known that an American army

was marching from the northward for the relief of their southern brethren. The panic occasioned by the fall of Charlestown was daily abating. The whig militia, on the extremities of the State, formed themselves into small parties under leaders of their own choice; and sometimes attacked detachments of the British army, but much more frequently those of their own countrymen who were turning out as royal militia. These American parties severally acted from the impulse of their own minds. They set themselves in opposition to the British without the knowledge of each other's motions, and without any preconcerted general plan. Colonel Williams, of the district of Ninety-Six, in particular, was indefatigable in collecting and animating the friends of Congress in that settlement. With these he frequently harassed the conquerors. On the 18th of August 1780 he attacked a considerable party of British and tories, at Musgrove's mills, on the Enoree river. Colonel Innis, of the South Carolina royalists, was wounded; and the whole of his party obliged to retire.

During the siege of Charlestown fourteen hundred continental troops, consisting of the Delaware and Maryland line, commanded by Major General Baron DeKalb, were by Congress, ordered to the southward. They marched from headquarters at Morristown, in New Jersey, on the 16th of April 1780, embarked at the head of Elk in May, and landed soon after at Petersburg in Virginia; and from thence proceeded by land towards South Carolina. The country was thinly inhabited and poorly cultivated. The last year's crop was nearly expended, and the present one was not sufficiently ripe. The troops subsisted principally on lean cattle collected in the woods. The officers were so distressed for the want of flour that they made use of hair-powder to thicken their soup, but soon found a more savory substitute in green corn. Peaches were also used, and became a seasonable supply. The whole army was sometimes supplied for twenty-four hours in this way without either meat or flour.

A considerable number of the militia of North Carolina had taken the field, and had agreed to rendezvous at Anson Court House on the 20th of July, that they might be in readiness to co-operate with the continental army. On the approach of the Americans Major M'Arthur, who commanded on the Peedee, called in his detachments and marched directly to join the main body of the royal army at Camden. On the day that the British relinquished this part of the country, the inhabitants, distressed by their depredations and disgusted with their conduct, generally took arms. Lord Nairne, and one hundred and six British invalids, going down the Peedee, were made

prisoners by a party of the Americans, commanded by Major Thomas, who had lately been received as loyal subjects. A large boat coming up from Georgetown, well stored with supplies for Major M'Arthur's party, was seized for the use of the American army. All the new made British militia officers, excepting Colonel Mills, were made prisoners by their own men. For some time past the people were daily growing more and more dissatisfied with the British. Tired of war, they had submitted to their government with the flattering expectation of bettering their condition; but they soon found their mistake. The protection they received as the recompense of their submissions, was wholly inadequade to the purpose of securing their property. When the British first took possession of the country, they considered themselves as having a right to seize on the property of rebels. Their commissaries, and quartermasters, took provisions and all other things wanted by the army, wherever they were to be found. Though articles taken this way was all charged to the British government, yet very few of the persons from whom they were taken ever received any satisfaction. After the State had generally submitted, the same practice was continued. The rapacity of the common men, the indigence and avarice of many of the officers, and the gains of the commissaries and quartermasters, all concurred to forbid any check to this lucrative mode of procuring supplies. They found it much more profitable to look on the inhabitants in the light of rebels, whose property was forfeited, than as reclaimed subjects who were reinstated in the protection of government. When they applied in the latter character to claim their rights, and to remonstrate against British depredations, they much oftener received insults than redress. People who had received this kind of treatment, and who believed that allegiance and protection were reciprocal, conceived themselves released from their late engagements, and at full liberty to rejoin the Americans.

Though the inhabitants of Charlestown had not the same opportunity of showing their resentment against their conquerors, yet many of the new-made subjects and the prisoners were very soon disgusted with their conduct. Every ungenerous construction was put on an ambiguous capitulation, to the disadvantage of the citizens; and their rights founded thereon were, in several instances, most injuriously violated. Continental officers were stripped of their property, on the pretence that they were soldiers, and had no right to claim under the character of citizens. The conquerors deprived the inhabitants of their canoes by an illiberal construction of the article which gave them the shipping in the harbor. Many slaves, and a great deal of property, though secured by

the capitulation, were carried off by Sir Henry Clinton's army in June 1780. Immediately after the surrender, five hundred negroes were ordered to be put on board the ships for pioneers to the royal forces in New York. These were taken where ever they could be found, and no satisfaction was made to their owners. The common soldiers, from their sufferings and services during the siege, conceived themselves entitled to a licensed plunder of the town. That their murmurings might be soothed, the officers connived at their reimbursing themselves for their fatigues and dangers at the expense of the citizens. Almost every private house had one or more of the officers or privates, of the royal army quartered upon them. In providing for their accommodation very little attention was paid to the convenience of families. The insolence and disorderly conduct of persons thus forced upon the citizens, were in many instances intolerable to freemen heretofore accustomed to be masters in their own houses. To induce a people who had tasted of the sweets of independence to return to the condition of subjects, their minds and affections, as well as their armies, ought to have been conquered. This more delicate and difficult task was rarely attempted. The officers, privates, and followers of the royal army, were generally more intent on amassing fortunes by plunder and rapine than on promoting a re-union of the dissevered members of the empire. The general complexion of the officers serving in the royal army against America, was very different from what had been usual in better times. In former wars, dignity, honor and generosity, were invariably annexed to the military character. Though the old officers of the British regiments in America were for the most part gentlemen, and eminently possessed these virtues, yet several vacancies both at the commencement and in the progress of the American war had been filled up by a new set, greatly inferior in education and good breeding. Several new corps had been raised in America, in which commissions had been promised by public advertisement to any person who would recruit a given number of men. They who possessed most of that low cunning, which is necessary to wheedle the vulgar, were of course most successful in procuring these commissions. From an army abounding with such unworthy characters, and stationed among a people whom they hated as rebels, and from the plunder of whom they hoped to make fortunes, it was not reasonable to expect that winning behavior which was necessary, to conciliate the affections of the revolted States. The royal officers, instead of soothing the inhabitants into good humor, often aggravated intolerable injuries by more intolerable insults; they did more to reëstablish the independence of the State than

could have been effected by the armies of Congress, had the conquerors guided themselves by maxims of sound policy. The high spirited citizens of Carolina could not brook these oppressions and insults, but most ardently wished to rid the country of the insulting oppressors. From motives of this kind, and a prevailing attachment to the cause of their country, many broke through all ties to join the advancing American army and more most cordially wished them success.

Major General Baron DeKalb commmanded the continentals sent from the northward, till the 27th of July, when Major General Gates arrived with the orders of Congress to take the command. Great were the expectations of the public from this illustrious officer. The cloud that had for some time overshadowed American affairs, began to disperse. Nothing short of the speedy expulsion of the British from the State, came up to the wishes and hopes of the friends of independence. While the American army advanced towards Camden, Colonel Sumpter was to the westward of the Wateree, and daily augmenting his corps from the revolting inhabitants who enrolled themselves under his standard. On receiving intelligence that an escort of clothing, ammunition and other stores for the garrison at Camden, was on the road from Charlestown, and that the whole must pass the Wateree ferry under cover of a small redoubt which the British occupied on the south side of the river, he formed a successful plan for reducing the redoubt and capturing the convoy. On the 15th of August, General Stevens, with a brigade of Virginia militia, joined General Gates. The whole of the American army now amounted to three thousand six hundred and sixty-three; of which about nine hundred were continental infantry, and seventy cavalry.

The arrival of this force being quite unexpected, Lord Cornwallis was distant from the scene of action. No sooner was he informed of the approach of General Gates, than he prepared to join his army at Camden. He arrived, and superseded Lord Rawdon in command, on the 14th. His inferior force, consisting of about 1,700 infantry and 300 cavalry, would have justified a retreat; but, considering that no probable event of an action would be more injurious to the royal interest than that measure, he chose to stake his fortune in a contest with the conqueror of Burgoyne. On the night of the fifteenth, he marched out with his whole force to attack the Americans; and at the same hour, General Gates put his army in motion, with a determination to take an eligible position between Sanders' creek and Green Swamp, about eight miles from Camden. The advanced parties of both met about midnight, and a firing commenced. In this skirmish, Colonel

Porterfield, a very gallant officer of the State of Virginia, received a mortal wound. After some time both parties retreated to their main bodies, and the whole lay on their arms. In the morning, a severe and general engagement took place. The American army was formed in the following manner: The second Maryland brigade, commanded by Brigadier General Gist, on the right of the line, flanked by a morass; the North Carolina militia, commanded by Major General Caswell, in the centre; and the Virginia militia, commanded by Brigadier General Stevens, on the left, flanked by the North Carolina militia, light infantry and a morass. The artillery was posted in the instertices of brigades, and on the most advantageous grounds. Major General Baron DeKalb commanded on the right of the line, and Brigadier General Smallwood commanded the first Maryland brigade, which was posted as corps-de-reserve two or three hundred yards in the rear. In this position, the troops remained till dawn of day. As soon as the British appeared about two hundred yards in front of the North Carolina troops, the artillery was ordered to fire, and Brigadier General Stevens to attack the column which was displayed to the right. That gallant officer advanced with his brigade of militia in excellent order within fifty paces of the enemy, who were also advancing, and then called out to his men, "my brave fellows, you have bayonets as well as they, we'll charge them." At that moment the British infantry charged with a cheer, and the Virginians, throwing down their arms, retreated with the utmost precipitation. The militia of North Carolina followed the unworthy example, except a few of General Gregory's brigade, who paused a very little longer. A part of Colonel Dixon's regiment fired two or three rounds, but the greater part of the whole militia fled without firing a single shot. The whole left wing and centre being gone, the continentals, who formed the right wing, and the corps of reserve, engaged about the same time and gave the British an unexpected check. The second brigade, consisting of Maryland and Delaware troops, gained ground, and had taken no less than fifty prisoners. The first brigade being considerably out-flanked, were obliged to retire; but they rallied again, and with great spirit renewed the fight. This expedient was repeated two or three times. The British directed their whole force against these two devoted corps, and a tremendous fire of musketry was continued on both sides with great steadiness. At length Lord Cornwallis observing that there was no cavalry opposed to him, poured in his dragoons and ended the contest. Never did men behave better than the continentals in the whole of this action; but all attempts to rally the militia were ineffectual. Lieutenant Colonel

Tarleton's legion charged them as they broke, and pursued them as they were fleeing. Without having it in their power to defend themselves, they fell in great numbers under the legionary sabres.

Major General Baron DeKalb, an illustrious German in the service of France, who had generously engaged in the support of the American independence, and who exerted himself with great bravery to prevent the defeat of the day, received eleven wounds, of which, though he received the most particular assistance from the British, he in a short time expired. Lieutenant-Colonel DuBuysson, Aid-de-Camp to Baron DeKalb, embraced his wounded General, announced his rank and nation to the surrounding foe, and begged that they would spare his life. While he generously exposed himself to save his friend, he received sundry dangerous wounds, and was taken prisoner. Brigadier-General Rutherford, a valuable officer of the most extensive influence over the North Carolina militia, surrendered to a party of the British legion, one of whom, after his submission, cut him in several places. Of the South Carolina line, that brave and distinguished officer Major Thomas Pinckney, acting as Aid-de-Camp to Major General Gates, had his leg shattered by a musket ball, and fell into the hands of the conquerors.

The Americans lost eight field pieces, the whole of their artillery, upwards of two hundred wagons, and the greatest part of their baggage. The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, was about three hundred. The royal army fought with great bravery; but their success was in a great measure owing to the precipitate flight of the militia, and the superiority of their cavalry.

The militia composed so great a part of the American army, that General Gates, when he saw them leave the field, lost all hopes of victory, and retired in order to rally a sufficient number to cover the retreat of the continentals, but the further the militia fled, the more they were dispersed. Finding nothing could be done, he continued his retreat into North Carolina. On his way he was soon overtaken by an officer from Colonel Sumpter, who reported that the colonel had fully succeeded in his enterprise against the British post at the ferry, had captured the garrison, and intercepted the escort with the stores; but no advantage could be taken of this event, as the successful party of the Americans was on the opposite side of the river. A few of the Virginia militia were halted at Hillsborough; but in a little time their tour of service was out, and they were discharged. The North Carolina militia went different ways, as their hopes led or their fears drove them. Almost all the American officers were separated from their com-

mands. Every corps was broken in action, and dispersed through the woods. Major Anderson, of the Third Maryland regiment, was the only infantry officer who kept together any number of men. The retreat of the heavy baggage was delayed till the morning of the action, and the greatest part of it fell into the hands of the British, or was plundered in the retreat. The pursuit was rapid for more than twenty miles; even at the distance of forty miles, teams were cut out of the wagons, and numbers promoted their flight on horseback. The road by which they fled was strewed with arms and baggage, which in their trepidation they had abandoned, and covered with sick, the wounded and the dead.

On the 17th and 18th of August, Brigadiers Smallwood and Gist, and several other officers, arrived at Charlotte. At this place also had rendezvoused upwards of one hundred regular infantry of different corps, besides Colonel Armand's cavalry, and a small partizan corps of horse, which took the field on this occasion under the command of Major Davie. Some provisions having been collected there, proved a most seasonable refreshment. The drooping spirits of the officers began to revive, and hopes were entertained that a respectable force might soon again be assembled from the country militia, and from the addition of Colonel Sumpter's victorious detachment. All these prospects were soon obscured by intelligence that arrived on the 19th, of the complete dispersion of that corps. On hearing of General Gates' defeat, Colonel Sumpter began to retreat up the south side of the Wateree, with his prisoners and captured stores. Lord Cornwallis dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with his legion and a detachment of infantry, to pursue him. This was done with so much celerity and address, that he was overtaken on the 18th at Fishing Creek. The British horse rode into their camp before they were prepared for defence. The Americans having been four days without sleep or provisions, were more obedient to the calls of nature than attentive to her first law—self-preservation. Colonel Sumpter had taken every prudent precaution to prevent a surprise, but his videttes were so fatigued, that they neglected their duty. With great difficulty he got a few of them to make a short stand, but the greater part of his corps fled to the river or the woods. The British prisoners, about three hundred, were all retaken and conducted to Camden. Colonel Sumpter lost all his artillery, and his whole detachment was either killed, captured or dispersed.

Every hope of making a stand at Charlotte being extinguished, a resolution was soon taken for retreating to Salisbury. A circumstantial detail of this would complete the picture of distress. The officers suffered much for want of

horses to carry off their wounded companions. The citizens of that part of the north State were reduced to great difficulties in removing their families and effects. It was expected that every day would bring intelligence of Lord Cornwallis pursuing his fugitive enemies. The inhabitants generally meant to flee before the approaching conquerors. The confusion that took place among all orders is more easily conceived than expressed.

The loss of Charlestown, and the capture of an army within its lines, had reduced American affairs in South Carolina low; but the complete rout of a second army, procured with great difficulty for the recovery of the State, sunk them much lower, and filled the friends of independence with fearful anxiety for the future fate of their country.

The British were unusually elated, and again flattered themselves, that all opposition in South Carolina was effectually subdued. Though their victory was complete, and there was no army to oppose them, yet the extreme heat of the weather, and sickliness of the season, restrained them for some time from pursuing their conquests. Much was to be done in the interior police of the country. To crush that spirit of opposition to British government, which discovered itself on the approach of an American army, engaged the attention of Lord Cornwallis.

By the complete dispersion of the continental forces the country was in the power of the conquerors. The expectation of aid from the northward was now less probable than immediately after the reduction of Charlestown. Several of the revolted subjects had fallen as prisoners into the hands of the British, and the property of others lay at their mercy. This situation of public affairs pointed out the present moment of triumph, as a most favorable conjuncture for breaking the spirits of those who were attached to the cause of independence. To prevent their future co-operation with the forces of Congress, a severer policy was henceforward adopted.

Unfortunately for the inhabitants this was taken up on grounds which involved thousands in distress, and not a few in the loss of life. The British conceived themselves in possession of the rights of sovereignty over a conquered country, and that therefore the efforts of the citizens to assert their independence were chargeable with the complicated guilt of ingratitude, treason, and rebellion. Influenced by these opinions, and transported with indignation against the inhabitants, they violated rights which are held sacred between independent hostile nations. In almost every district their progress was marked with blood, and with deeds so atrocious as reflected disgrace on their arms. Nor were these barbarities

perpetrated in a sudden sally of rage, or by officers of low rank. Major Weyms, of the sixty-third regiment of his Britannic majesty's army, deliberately hung Mr. Adam Cusack in Cheraw district, who had neither taken parole as a prisoner, nor protection as a British subject, though charged with no other crime than refusing to transport some British officers over a ferry, and shooting at them across a river. The immediate authors of executions pleaded no less authority than that of Earl Cornwallis, for deliberately shedding the blood of their fellow-men. In a few days after the defeat of General Gates, his lordship stained his military fame by the following letter, addressed to the Commandant of the British garrison at Ninety-Six.

"I have given orders that all the inhabitants of this province, who have subscribed and have taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigor; and also those who will not turn out, that they may be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed. I have likewise ordered, that compensation should be made out of their estates to the persons who have been injured or oppressed by them. I have ordered in the most positive manner, that every militia-man, who has borne arms with us and afterwards joined the enemy, shall be immediately hanged. I desire you will take the most vigorous measures to punish the rebels in the district in which you command, and that you obey in the strictest manner the directions I have given in this letter relative to the inhabitants of this country.

(Signed) CORNWALLIS."

Similar orders were addressed to the Commanders of different posts, and executed with the same spirit with which they were dictated. At or near Camden, Samuel Andrews, Richard Tucker, John Miles, Josiah Gayle, Eleazer Smith, with some others whose names are unknown, were taken out of gaol and hung without any ceremony. Some were indulged with a hearing before a court martial, but the evidences against them were not examined on oath, and slaves were both permitted and encouraged to accuse their masters. Not only at Camden, but in other parts of South Carolina, and at Augusta in Georgia, the same bloody tragedies were acted, and several of the inhabitants fell sacrifices to this new mode of warfare.

The warm zeal of Earl Cornwallis to annex the States of America to the British empire, prompted him to measures not only derogatory to his character, but inconsistent with the claims of humanity. The prisoners on parole had an undoubted right to take arms; for, by proclamation, after the 20th of the preceding June, as has been stated, they were released from every engagement to their conquerors. Of those

it may be affirmed, that they were murdered in cold blood. The case of those who had taken British protection is somewhat different. His lordship could allege, in vindication of his severity to them, an appearance of right; but it was of that too rigid kind which hardens into wrong. These men were under the tie of an oath to support American independence; but had been overcome by the temptation of saving their property to make an involuntary submission to the royal conquerors. By a combination of circumstances they were in such a situation that they could not do otherwise, without risking the support of their families. Experience soon taught them the inefficacy of these protections. These men naturally reasoned thus: "that as the contract was first violated on the part of the conquerors, it could not be so highly criminal for them to recede from it." They had also submitted on the idea that they should not be called on to fight against the Americans; but finding themselves compelled to take up arms, and under the necessity of violating their engagements either to their countrymen or their conquerors, they choose to adhere to the former. To treat men thus circumstanced with the sanguinary severity of deserters and traitors might be politic, but the impartial world must regret that the unavoidable horrors of war should be aggravated by such deliberate effusions of human blood.

Notwithstanding the decisive superiority of the British arms in the summer of 1780, several of the citizens, respectable for their numbers, but more so for their weight and influence, continued firm to the cause of independence. It was no less mortifying to Lord Cornwallis than unfriendly to his future schemes, that these remained within the British lines in the character of prisoners. Though they were restrained by their paroles from doing anything injurious to the interest of his Britannic majesty; yet the silent example of men, who were revered by their fellow-citizens, had a powerful influence in restraining many from exchanging their paroles as prisoners for the protection and privileges of British subjects. To remove every bias of this sort, and to enforce a general submission to royal government, Lord Cornwallis, soon after his victory at Camden, gave orders to send out of the province a number of the principal citizens prisoners on parole in Charlestown. On the 27th of August Christopher Gadsden, Lieutenant-Governor of the State, Edward Blake, John Budd, Robert Cochran, John Edwards, Thomas Ferguson, George Flagg, William Hasel Gibbs, William Hall, Thomas Hall, Thomas Heyward, junior, Isaac Holmes, Richard Hutson, William Johnson, Rev. John Lewis, William Livingston, John Loveday, Rich'd Lushington, William Massey, Edward McCready,

Alexander Moultrie, John Mouatt, John Neufville, Edward North, Joseph Parker, John Earnest Poyas, David Ramsay, Jacob Read, Hugh Rutledge, Edward Rutledge, John Sansum, Thomas Savage, Thomas Singleton, Josiah Smith, James Hamden Thompson, Peter Timothy, John Todd, and Anthony Toomer, were taken up early in the morning out of their houses and beds by armed parties and brought to the Exchange; from whence, when collected together, they were removed on board the Sandwich guard-ship, and in a few days transported to St. Augustine. The manner in which this order was executed was not less painful to the feelings of gentlemen, than the order itself was injurious to the rights of prisoners entitled to the benefits of a capitulation. Guards were left at their respective houses. The private papers of some of them were examined. Reports were immediately circulated to their disadvantage, and every circumstance managed so as to induce a general belief that they were all apprehended for violating their paroles, and for concerting a scheme for burning the town and massacreing the loyal subjects. On the very first day of their confinement they remonstrated to Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour, the Commandant of Charlestown, asserting their innocence, and challenging their accusers to appear face to face with their charges against them.

To this no answer was directly obtained; but a message from the Commandant, delivered officially by Major Benson, acknowledged that this extraordinary step had been taken "from motives of policy."

The British endeavored to justify this removal by alleging the right of the victors to remove prisoners whithersoever they pleased, without regarding their convenience. Few such instances can be produced in the modern history of any civilized nation with whom it is an established rule to construe capitulations, where ambiguous, in favor of the vanquished. The conquerors, in their great zeal to make subjects, forgot the rights of prisoners. To express his indignation at this ungenerous treatment, Lieutenant-Governor Gadsden refused to accept an offered parole in St. Augustine; and with the greatest fortitude bore a close confinement in the castle of that place for forty-two weeks, rather than give a second one to a power which had plainly violated the engagement contained in the first. The other gentlemen, who renewed their paroles in St. Augustine, had the liberty of the town; but were treated with indignities unsuitable to their former rank and condition. Cut off from all communication with their countrymen, they could receive no intelligence of public affairs but through British channels. In this forlorn situation, they were informed of several decisive battles, which were represented as having

completely annihilated every prospect of American independence; and they were taught to expect the fate of vanquished rebels. They also heard from high authority, that the blood of the brave but unfortunate Andrè would be required at their hands. They were told that Lieutenant-Colonel Glazier, Commandant of the garrison in St. Augustine, had announced his fixed resolution instantly to hang up six of them, if the exasperated Americans should execute their threats of putting to death Colonel Brown, of the East Florida rangers. To all these indignities and dangers they submitted, without an application from a single individual of their number for British protection.

From the time that the citizens before mentioned were sent off from Charlestown, St. Augustine was made use of to frighten prisoners to petition for the privileges of subjects. They who delayed their submission were repeatedly threatened with banishment from their families and estates. To convince the inhabitants that the conquerors were seriously resolved to banish all who refused to become subjects, an additional number, who still remained prisoners on parole, was shipped off on the 15th of November following. Their names were as follows: Joseph Bee, Richard Beresford, John Berwick, Daniel Bordeaux, Benjamin Cudworth, Henry Crouch, John Splatt Cripps, Edward Darrell, Daniel DeSaussure, George A. Hall, Thomas Grimball, Noble Wimberly Jones, William Lee, Wm. Logan, Arthur Middleton, Christopher Peters, Benjamin Postell, Samuel Prioleau, Philip Smith, Benjamin Waller, James Wakefield, Edward Weyman, Morton Wilkinson. In addition to these citizens of South Carolina, most of whom were entitled to the benefits of the capitulation of Charlestown, General Rutherford and Colonel Isaacs of the State of North Carolina, who had been taken near Camden in August, 1780, were at the same time shipped off for St. Augustine. The only charge exhibited against them as the reason of their exile was that "they discovered no disposition to return to their allegiance and would, if they could, overturn the British government." Lord Cornwallis did not stop here; but being determined to use every method to compel the re-establishment of British government, as well by rewarding its friends as punishing its opposers, his lordship proceeded to the sequestration of all estates belonging to the decided friends of America. In the execution of this business John Cruden was appointed to take possession of the estates of particular persons designated in warrants issued by Earl Cornwallis and Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour.

In the year 1778, when the then recent capture of General Burgoyne's army, and the alliance with France inspired all

ranks of men in Carolina with confidence in the final establishment of their independence, the Legislature of that State gave to all the friends of royal government their free choice; of either joining them, or going where they pleased with their families and property. In the year 1780, when the British arms had the ascendant, the conquerors gave no alternative, but either to join them, and to fight against their countrymen and consciences, or to be banished under every restriction of prisoners of war. Instead of being allowed to carry their estates with them, they whose property made it worth while, were stripped of every thing; and all, whether their estates were sequestered or not, were deprived of the privileges of recovering their debts, and of selling or removing their property without the permission of the conquerors. An adherent to independence was now considered as one who courted exile, poverty, and ruin. The temptation was too great to be resisted by those who were attached to their interest and ease. Numbers who formerly professed great zeal in the support of their country, and who continued their adherence to the cause of America after the surrender of Charlestown, yielded to these temptations and became British subjects. To discourage the other States from any further attempts in behalf of Carolina, an address to Lord Cornwallis was drawn up, in which the subscribers "congratulated him for his glorious victory at Camden; and expressed their indignation at Congress for disturbing the citizens of Carolina, who were represented as having broken off from the union, and re-united themselves to the British empire." Though every method was used to obtain signers to this address, yet no more than one hundred and sixty-four could be procured. Notwithstanding these discouragements, the genius of America rose superior to them all. At no time did her sons appear to greater advantage, than when they were depressed by successive misfortunes. They seemed to gain strength from their losses; and, instead of giving way to the pressure of calamities, to oppose them with more determined resolution.

Hitherto the British arms to the southward have been attended with almost uninterrupted success. The royal standards we have seen overspreading all the country, penetrating into every quarter, and triumphing over all opposition. Their defeats at the Hanging Rock and at Williams's, in the upper parts of South Carolina, made but little impression on an army familiar with victories. Checks indeed they were, but nothing more; and the only check they had sustained since their landing in the State. The British ministry, by this flattering posture of affairs, were once more intoxicated with the delusive hopes of subjugating America. New plans were

formed, and great expectations indulged of speedily re-uniting the dissevered members of the empire. The rashness of General Burgoyne, and the languor of Sir William Howe, were assigned as the only causes of that shame and disappointment which had already disgraced five successive campaigns. It was now asserted with a confidence bordering on presumption, that such troops as fought at Camden, put under such a Commander as Lord Cornwallis, would soon extirpate rebellion so effectually as to leave no vestige of it in America. The British ministry and army, by an impious confidence in their own wisdom and prowess, were duly prepared to give, in their approaching downfall, an useful lesson to the world.

The disaster of the army under General Gates overspread at first the face of American affairs with a dismal gloom. But the day of prosperity to the United States began, as will appear in the sequel, from that moment to dawn. Their prospects brightened up, while those of their enemies were obscured by disgrace, broken by defeat, and at last covered with ruin. Elated with their victory, the conquerors became more insolent and rapacious, while the real friends of independence, thoroughly alarmed at their danger, became resolute and determined. We have seen Sumpter penetrating into South Carolina, and recommencing a military opposition to British government. Soon after that event he was promoted by Governor Rutledge to the rank of Brigadier-General. About the same time Marion was promoted to the same rank, and in the northeastern extremities of the State successfully prosecuted the same plan. Unfurnished with the means of defence, he was obliged to take possession of the saws of the saw-mills, and to convert them into horsemen's swords. So much was he distressed for ammunition, that he has engaged when he had not three rounds to each man of his party. At other times he has brought his men into view, though without ammunition, that he might make a show of numbers to the enemy. For several weeks he had under his command only seventy men, all volunteers from the militia. At one time hardships and dangers reduced that number to twenty-five; yet with this inconsiderable force he secured himself, in the midst of surrounding foes. Various methods were attempted to draw off his followers. Major Weyms burned scores of houses belonging to the inhabitants living on Peedee, Lynch's creek, and Black river, who were supposed to do duty with him, or to be subservient to his views. This measure had an effect contrary to what was expected. Revenge and despair co-operated with patriotism to make these ruined men keep the field. The devouring flames sent on defenceless habitations by blind rage and brutal policy, increased not only the zeal

but the number of his followers. For several months he and his party were obliged to sleep in the open air, and to shelter themselves in the thick recesses of deep swamps. From these retreats he sallied out whenever an opportunity of harassing the enemy or of serving his country presented itself. This worthy citizen, on every occasion, paid the greatest regard to private property, and restrained his men from every species of plunder. On the whole, he exhibited a rare instance of disinterested patriotism, in doing and suffering everything subservient to the independence of his country.

Opposition to British government was not wholly confined to the parties commanded by Sumpter and Marion. It was at no time altogether extinct in the extremities of the State. The inhabitants of that part of South Carolina which is now called York district, never were paroled as prisoners; nor did they take protection as subjects. From among these people Sumpter had recruited a considerable part of his men. After his defeat, on the 18th of August, 1780, several of them repaired to that settlement, and kept in small parties for their own defence. Some of them also joined Major Davie, an enterprising young gentleman who commanded fifty or sixty volunteers, who had equipped themselves as dragoons. This was the only American corps which at that time had not been beaten or dispersed. The disposition to revolt which had been excited on the approach of General Gates' army, was not extinguished by its defeat. By that check the spirit of the people was overawed, but not subdued. The severity with which revolters who were taken had been treated, induced many others to persevere and to seek safety in swamps.

From the time of the general submission of the inhabitants, in the summer of 1780, pains were taken to increase the royal force by the co-operation of the yeomanry of the country. Commissions in the militia were given by the British commanders to such of the inhabitants as they supposed had influence, and were most firmly attached to their interest. They persuaded the people to embody, by representing to the uninformed, that American affairs were entirely ruined, and that further opposition would only be a prolongation of their distresses. They endeavored to reconcile those who had families, and were advanced in life, to the bearing of arms, by considerations drawn from the necessity of defending their property and of keeping their domestics in proper subordination. From young men without families more was expected. Whilst Lord Cornwallis was restrained from active operations by the excessive heats and unhealthy season which followed his victory at Camden, Colonel Ferguson, of the

seventy-first British regiment, had undertaken personally to visit the settlements of the disaffected to the American cause, and to train their young men for service in the field. With these, at a proper season, he was to join the main army and co-operate with it in the reduction of North Carolina. This corps had been chiefly collected from the remote parts of the State, and was induced to continue for some time near to the western mountains, with the expectation of intercepting Colonel Clark on his retreat from Georgia. Among those who joined Colonel Ferguson were several disorderly, licentious persons, who took the opportunity of the prevailing confusion to carry on their usual depredations. As they marched through the country, on the pretence of promoting the service of his Britanic majesty, they plundered the whig citizens. Violences of this kind, frequently repeated, induced many persons to consult their own safety by fleeing over the mountains. By such lively representations of their sufferings as the distressed are always ready to give, they communicated an alarm to that hardy race of republicans who live to the westward of the Alleghany. Hitherto these mountaineers had only heard of war at a distance, and had been in peaceable possession of that independence for which their countrymen on the sea-coast were contending. Alarmed for their own safety by the near approach of Colonel Ferguson, and roused by the violences and depredations of his followers, they embodied to check the neighboring foe. This was done of their own motion, without any requisition from the governments of America or the officers of the continental army. Being all mounted and unincumbered with baggage, their motions were rapid. Each man set out with his blanket, knapsack, and gun, in quest of Colonel Ferguson in the same manner he was used to pursue the wild beasts of the forest. At night the earth afforded them a bed and the heavens a covering; the running stream quenched their thirst, while the few cattle, driven in their rear, together with the supplies acquired by their guns, procured them provision. They soon found the encampment of Colonel Ferguson. This was on an eminence of a circular base, known by the name of King's Mountain, situated near the confines of North and South Carolina. Though Colonel Campbell had a nominal command over the whole, their enterprise was conducted without regular military subordination, under the direction of Colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier and Williams, each of whom respectively led on his own men. It being apprehended that Colonel Ferguson was hastening his march down the country to join Lord Cornwallis, the Americans selected nine hundred and ten of their best men, and mounted them on their fleetest horses. With this force

they came up with Colonel Ferguson on the 7th of October, 1780. As they approached the royal encampment, it was agreed to divide their force. Some ascended the mountain, while others went round its base in opposite directions. Colonel Cleveland, who led one of the detachments round the mountain, in his progress discovered an advanced piquet of the royal army. On this occasion he addressed his party in the following plain unvarnished language: "My brave fellows, we have beat the tories and we can beat them. They are all cowards. If they had the spirit of men, they would join with their fellow-citizens in supporting the independence of their country. When engaged you are not to wait for the word of command from me. I will show you by my example how to fight. I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself as an officer, and act from his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can, and stand your ground as long as you can. When you can do no better, get behind trees or retreat, but I beg of you not to run quite off. If we are repulsed, let us make a point to return and renew the fight. Perhaps we may have better luck in the second attempt than the first. If any of you are afraid, such have leave to retire, and they are requested immediately to take themselves off." A firing commenced. Some of the Americans were on horseback, others on foot. Some behind trees, and others exposed. None were under the restraints of military discipline, but all were animated with the enthusiasm of liberty. The piquet soon gave way, and were pursued as they retired up the mountain to the main body. Colonel Ferguson, with the greatest bravery, ordered his men to charge. The Americans commanded by Colonel Cleveland followed his advice, and having fired as long as they could with safety, they retired from the approaching bayonet. They had scarcely given way when the other detachment, commanded by Colonel Shelby, having completed the circuit of the mountain, opportunely arrived, and from an unexpected quarter poured in a well directed fire. Colonel Ferguson desisted from the pursuit, and engaged with his new adversaries. The British bayonet was again successful, and caused them also to fall back. By this time the party commanded by Colonel Campbell had ascended the mountain, and renewed the attack from that eminence. Colonel Ferguson, whose conduct was equal to his courage, presented a new front, and was again successful, but all his exertions were unavailing. At this moment the men who began the attack, no less obedient to the second request of their commander in returning to their posts than they were to the first in securing themselves by a timely retreat, had rallied and renewed their fire. As often as one

of the American parties was driven back, another returned to their station. Resistance on the part of Colonel Ferguson was in vain, but his unconquerable spirit refused to surrender. After having repulsed a succession of adversaries, pouring in their fire from new directions, this distinguished officer received a mortal wound. No chance of escape being left, and all prospect of successful resistance being at an end, the second in command sued for quarters. The killed, wounded and taken, exceeded eleven hundred, of which nearly one hundred were regulars. The assailants had the honor of reducing a number superior to their own. The Americans lost comparatively few, but in that number was that distinguished militia officer, Colonel Williams. Ten of these men who had surrendered were hanged by their conquerors. They were provoked to this measure by the severity of the British, who had lately hanged a greater number of Americans at Camden, Ninety-Six and Augusta. They also alleged that the men who suffered were guilty of crimes for which their lives were forfeited by the laws of the land.

This unexpected advantage gave new spirits to the desponding Americans; and, in a great degree, frustrated a well concerted scheme for strengthening the British army by the cooperation of the inhabitants who were disaffected to the cause of America.

It was scarcely possible for any event to have happened, in the present juncture of affairs, more unfavorable to the views of Lord Corwallis than this reverse of fortune. The fall of Colonel Ferguson, who possessed superior talents as a partizan, was no small loss to the royal cause. In addition to the accomplishments of an excellent officer, he was a most exact marksmen; and had brought the art of rifle shooting to an uncommon degree of perfection. The total route of the royalists, who had joined Colonel Ferguson, operated as a check on their future exertions. The same timid caution which made them averse from joining their countrymen, in opposing the claims of Great Britain, restrained them from risking any more in support of the royal cause. From this time forward many of them waited events and reserved themselves till the British army, by their own unassisted efforts, should gain a decided superiority.

In a few weeks after the general action near Camden, on the 16th of August, 1780, Lord Cornwallis left a small force in that village and marched with the main army to Charlotte. Whilst they lay there, General Sumner and General Davidson, with a considerable body of North Carolina militia, took post in the vicinity and annoyed their detachments. Major Davie, whose corps was greatly increased by staunch volunteers from

the lower country, was particularly successful in intercepting their foraging parties and convoys. Riflemen frequently penetrated near the British camp, and from behind trees took care to make sure of their object; so that the late conquerors found their situation very uneasy, being exposed to unseen danger if they attempted to make an excursion of only a few hundred yards from their encampment. The defeat of Colonel Ferguson, added to these circumstances, gave a serious alarm to Lord Cornwallis; and made him, while at Charlotte, apprehensive for his safety. He therefore retreated, and fixed his next position at Winnsborough. As he retired, the militia took several wagons loaded with stores, and single men often rode up within gun-shot of his army, discharged their pieces, and made their escape.

The panic occasioned by the reduction of Charlestown, and the defeat of General Gates, began to wear off. The defeat of Colonel Ferguson, and the consequent retreat of Lord Cornwallis from Charlotte to Winnsborough, encouraged the American militia to repair to the camps of their respective commanders. The necessity of the times induced them to submit to the stricter discipline of regular soldiers.

Early in October, Gates detached General Morgan from Hillsborough, with 300 Maryland and Delaware troops with 80 dragoons, to aid the exertions of the whig citizens of Mecklenburgh and Rowan counties. In an excursion from this detached position Lieutenant-Colonel Washington penetrated with a small force to the vicinity of Camden, and on the 4th of December 1780, appeared before Col. Rugeley's. This gentleman having taken a commission in the British militia, had made a stockade-fort round his house in which he had collected 112 of the men under his command. The appearance of the force, commanded by Washington, produced an immediate surrender of this whole party. A pine log enforced the propriety and necessity of their speedy unresisting submission. This harmless timber, elevated a few feet from the surface of the earth by its branches which stuck in the ground, was moulded by the imagination of the garrison into artillery, completely equipped with all the apparatus of death.

Sumpter, soon after the dispersion of his force on the 18th of August 1780, collected a corps of volunteers. About thirty of his party re-joined him immediately after that event. In three days more one hundred of the whig citizens in the vicinity, on his requisition, rendezvoused at Sugar creek and put themselves under his command. With these and other occasional reinforcements, though for three months there was no continental army in the State, he constantly kept the field in support of American independence. He varied his position

from time to time about Enoree, Broad and Tyger rivers, and had frequent skirmishes with his adversaries. Having mounted his followers, he infested the British with frequent incursions, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and so harassed them with successive alarms, that their movements could not be made but with caution and difficulty. On the 12th of November, 1780, he was attacked at Broad river by Major Weyms, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons. In this action the British were defeated, and their commanding officer taken prisoner. Though Major Weyms had personally superintended the execution of Mr. Adam Cusack, after ordering him to be hung; and though in his pocket was found a memorandum of several houses burned by his command, yet he received every indulgence from his conquerors. On the twentieth of the same month General Sumpter was attacked at Black Stocks, near Tyger river, by Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton at the head of a considerable party. The action was severe and obstinate. The killed and wounded of the British was considerable. Among the former were Maj. Money, Lieuts. Gibson and Cope. The Americans lost very few, but General Sumpter received a wound which, for several months, interrupted his gallant enterprises in behalf of the State. His zeal and activity in animating the American militia when they were discouraged by repeated defeats, and the bravery and good conduct he displayed in sundry attacks on the British detachments procured him the applause of his countrymen and the thanks of Congress.

The continental army which had been collected at Hillsborough, after their dispersion on the 16th of August, moved down to Charlotte in the latter end of the year 1780. Congress authorized General Washington to appoint an officer to take the command in the southern district. He nominated Major-General Greene to this important trust. This illustrious officer was universally acknowledged to possess great military talents, particularly a penetrating judgment, and a decisive enterprising spirit. Great were the difficulties he had to encounter. The principal part of his standing force consisted of the few continentals who had escaped from the defeat near Camden on the 16th of August, 1780. Six days after Greene took the command, the returns of the southern army were nine hundred and seventy continentals, and one thousand and thirteen militia. The continentals were without pay, and almost without clothing. All sources of supply from Charlestown were shut up, and no imported article could be obtained but from a distance of near two hundred miles. Though the American force was small, yet the procuring of provisions for its support was a matter of the greatest difficulty. The paper currency

was so depreciated, that it was wholly unequal to the purchase of necessaries for the suffering soldiers. Real money could not be procured. Though Greene was authorized to dispose of a few bills, drawn by Congress on their minister at the court of France, on a credit given him by that court, yet, such was the situation of the country, that very little relief could be obtained from this quarter; and the greatest part of the bills were returned unsold. The only resource left for supplying the American army, was by impressment. The country had been so completely ravaged, that all which could be obtained even in that way, in the vicinity of the army, was far short of a sufficiency. To supply the army, and please the inhabitants, was equally necessary. To seize upon their property and preserve their kind affections was a most delicate point, and yet of the utmost moment, as it furnished the army with provisions without impairing the disposition of the inhabitants to co-operate with the continental troops in recovering the country. This grand object called for the united efforts of both. That the business of impressment might be conducted in the least offensive manner it was transferred from the military to the civil officers of the State. This was not only more effectual, but it also prevented two other evils of dangerous consequence—the corruption of the discipline of the army—and the misapplication of property impressed for the public service.

With an inconsiderable army, miserably provided, General Greene took the field against a superior British regular force, which had marched in triumph two hundred miles from the sea-coast; and was flushed with successive victories through a whole campaign. To face an host of difficulties the American General had the justice of his cause, his own valor and good conduct, a very respectable cavalry, and the Maryland and Delaware continentals who had served upwards of four years; and who, for their numbers, were equal to any troops in the world.

Many of the inhabitants, who, from necessity, had submitted to the British government most cordially wished him good speed; but the unsuccessful attempt of Gates to recover the country made the cautious and timid, for some time, very slow in repairing to the standard of liberty.

Soon after Greene took the command, he divided his force and sent a detachment, under General Morgan, to the western extremities of South Carolina; and marched on the twentieth of December with the main body to Hicks' Creek, on the north side of the Peedee, opposite to Cheraw Hill. This division of the little American army into two parts, so remote from each other that they could not co-operate, was risking

much; but the necessity of the case gave no alternative. The continental army was too inconsiderable to make successful opposition to the superior numbers of Lord Cornwallis, without the most powerful co-operation of the militia of the country. To give them an opportunity of embodying it was necessary to cover both extremities of the State.

SECTION VIII.

Campaign of 1781.

After the general submission of the militia, in the year 1780, a revolution took place highly favorable to the interests of America. The residence of the British army, instead of increasing the real friends to royal government, diminished their number and added new vigor to the opposite party. In the district of Ninety-Six moderate measures were at first adopted by the British commanders, but the effects of this were frustrated by the royalists. A great part of those who called themselves the King's friends had been at all times a banditti, to whom rapine and violence were familiar. On the restoration of royal government these men preferred their claim to its particular notice. The conquerors were so far imposed on by them, that they promoted some of them who were of the most infamous characters. Men of such base minds and mercenary principles, regardless of the capitulation, gratified their private resentments and their rage for plunder to the great distress of the new made subjects, and the greater injury of the royal interest. Violences of this kind made some men break their engagements to the British, and join the Americans. Their revolt occasioned suspicions to the prejudice of others who had no intention of following their example. Fears, jealousies and distrust, haunted the minds of the conquerors. All confidence was at an end. Severe measures were next tried, but with a worse effect. Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour, an haughty and imperious officer who commanded in that district, was more calculated, by his insolence and overbearing conduct to alienate the inhabitants from a government already beloved, than to reconcile them to one which was generally disliked. By an unwarrantable stretch of his authority he issued a proclamation by which it was declared, "that every man who was not in his house by a certain day should be subject to a military execution." The British had a post in Ninety-Six for thirteen months, during which time the country was filled with rapine, violence, and murder. Applications were made daily for redress, yet in that whole period there was not a single instance wherein punishment was inflicted either on the soldiery or

tories. The people soon found that there was no security for their lives, liberties, or property, under the military government of British officers, which subjected them to the depredations of a malicious mercenary banditti; falsely calling themselves the friends of royal government. The peaceable citizens were reduced to that uncommon distress, in which they had more to fear from oppression than resistance; they therefore most ardently wished for the appearance of an American force. Under these favorable circumstances Greene detached Morgan to take a position in the western extremity of the State. On his arrival the latter dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, with his own regiment and two hundred militia-horse, to attack a body of tories who were plundering the whig inhabitants. Washington came up with them near Hammond's store-house, and charged them; on on which they all fled without making any resistance. Many were killed or wounded, and about forty taken prisoners.

On the next day Washington detached Cornet James Simons, with a command of eleven regulars and twenty-five militia, to pursue the fugitives and to surprise a fort a few miles distant, in which General Cunningham commanded about one hundred and fifty British militia. This fort was strongly picqueted in every direction; and, besides plunder taken from the whig inhabitants, was well stored with forage, grain, and provisions for the use of the British army. As soon as the Americans were discovered, General Cunningham and all his men abandoned the fort. Cornet Simons stationed his detachment, and, advancing with a flag, demanded their surrender. Cunningham requested time to consult his officers, and five minutes were given him for that purpose. In that short space the whole party of tories ran off, and dispersed themselves through the woods. Simons, after destroying the fort and all the provisions in it which he could not carry away, rejoined Washington without any molestation.

These successes, the appearance of an American army, a sincere attachment to the cause of independence, and the impolitic conduct of the British, induced several persons to resume their arms and to act in concert with the detachments of continentals. Lord Cornwallis wished to drive Morgan from this station, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, at the head of a thousand regulars, was ordered to execute this business. The British had two field-pieces, and the superiority of numbers in the proportion of five to four, and particularly of cavalry in the proportion of three to one. Besides this inequality of force, two-thirds of the troops under Morgan were militia. With these fair prospects of success, Tarleton, on the 17th of January

1781, engaged Morgan with the expectation of driving him out of the country. The latter drew up his men in two lines. The whole of the southern militia, with one hundred and ninety from North Carolina, were put under the command of Colonel Pickens. These formed the first line, and were advanced a few hundred yards before the second, with orders to form on the right of the second when forced to retire. The second line consisted of the light-infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, and a small corps of Virginia militia riflemen. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington with his cavalry and forty-five militia-men, mounted and equipped with swords, were drawn up at some distance in the rear of the whole. The Americans were formed before the British appeared in sight. Tarleton halted, and formed his men, when at the distance of about two hundred and fifty yards from the front line of Morgan's detachment. As soon as the British had formed they began to advance with a shout, and poured in an incessant fire of musketry. Colonel Pickens directed the militia under his command not to fire till the British were within forty or fifty yards. This order, though executed with great firmness and success, was not sufficient to repel the advancing foe. The American militia were obliged to retire, but were soon rallied by their officers. The British advanced rapidly and engaged the second line which, after a most obstinate conflict, was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. In this crisis of the battle, Washington made a successful charge upon Tarleton who was cutting down the militia. Lieutenant Colonel Howard, almost at the same moment, rallied the continental troops and charged with fixed bayonets. The example was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and confusion of the British, occasioned by these unexpected charges. Their advance fell back upon their rear, and communicated a panic to the whole. In this moment of confusion Howard called to them "to lay down their arms," and promised them good quarters. Upwards of five hundred accepted the offer, and surrendered. The first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, and two British light infantry companies laid down their arms to the American militia. Previous to this general surrender, three hundred of the corps, commanded by Tarleton, had been killed, wounded or taken. Eight hundred stand of arms, two field-pieces, and thirty-five baggage-wagons also fell into the hands of the Americans. Washington pursued the British cavalry for several miles, but a great part of them escaped. The Americans had only twelve men killed, and sixty wounded. General Morgan, whose great abilities were discovered by the judicious disposition of his force, and whose

activity was conspicuous through every part of the action, obtained the universal applause of his countrymen. And there never was a commander better supported than he was by the officers and men of his detachment. The glory and importance of this action resounded from one end of the continent to the other. It re-animated the desponding friends of America, and seemed to be like a resurrection from the dead to the southern States.

Morgan's good conduct, on this memorable day, was honored by Congress with a gold medal. That illustrious assembly, on this occasion, presented also a medal of silver to Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, another to Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, a sword to Colonel Pickens, a brevet majority to Edward Giles, the General's Aid-de-camp, and a Captaincy to Baron Glasback, who had lately joined the light infantry as a volunteer. The British legion, hitherto triumphant in a variety of skirmishes, on this occasion lost their laurels, though they were supported by the Seventh regiment, one battalion of the Seventy-first, and two companies of light infantry. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton had hitherto acquired distinguished reputation, but he was greatly indebted for his military fame to good fortune and accident. In all his previous engagements he either had the advantage of surprising an incautious enemy, of attacking them when panic-struck after recent defeats, or of being opposed to undisciplined militia. He had gathered no laurels by hard fighting against an equal force. His repulse on this occasion did more essential injury to the British interest than was compensated by all his victories.

Tarleton's defeat was the first link in a grand chain of causes which finally drew down ruin, both in North and South Carolina, on the royal interest. The series of victories which had followed the British arms in the first nine months of the year 1780, had been considered by the sanguine royalists as decisive with respect to the most southern colonies, and had led to the formation of extensive plans for the year 1781. These were defensive with respect to South Carolina and Georgia, which were considered as conquered countries, but offensive against North Carolina and Virginia. To favor the subjugation of these two latter States, the British commanders stationed troops in both. The tories under the protection of the royal army were encouraged to rise simultaneously. With their aid, and that of his army, Lord Cornwallis expected to destroy the American forces commanded by General Greene, or at least to drive them out of the country. As his lordship advanced from south to north, it was expected the tories, with a portion of regulars, would keep all quiet in his rear. North Carolina was scarcely considered in any other light than as the road to

Virginia. A junction with the royal forces stationed in the last named State, in the front of Lord Cornwallis, was expected at so early a day, as to give time for prosecuting further operations against Maryland and Pennsylvania. The expectations of some went so far as to count upon a junction with the royal army in New York, and the subjugation of every State to the southward of Hudson's river, before the close of the campaign. The year 1781 commenced with the prospect of accomplishing most, if not all of these objects. These sanguine hopes were founded on the reduction of Savannah and Charlestown, the subjugation of Georgia and South Carolina—the route of General Gates' army—the failure of the American paper currency, the general distress of the country, and the inability of Congress to carry on the war, from the want of the means necessary for that purpose. In this distressed state of American affairs, success, little short of a termination of the war in favor of Great Britain, was expected from a vigorous campaign, conducted with energy and advancing from south to north. The defeat of Ferguson at King's mountain, in October, 1780, and of Tarleton at the Cow Pens, in January, 1781, precipitated the projected system of operations. To recover the prisoners taken at the Cow Pens, the royal army was instantly put in motion. A military race commenced between the pursuing British and the fleeing Americans. North Carolina was therefore prematurely invaded before the tories were prepared for joining the royalists. Rising without order or system, they were separately subdued. General Greene, by rapid movements, saved his prisoners, but was compelled to retreat into Virginia. By avoiding engagements he preserved his army till he was joined by so many of his countrymen as enabled him to recross into North Carolina, and to risk a general action at Guilford. This, though called a victory by the British, operated against them like a defeat. Lord Cornwallis was reduced to the alternative of retracing his footsteps to South Carolina, or advancing to Virginia, while the country behind him was left open to the enterprising General Greene, at the head of a respectable force. The two armies, one of which for some weeks had been chasing the other, now turned back to back. Lord Cornwallis advanced northwardly, and seated himself in York Town, Virginia, where, in October following, he was reduced to the necessity of surrendering his whole army prisoners of war; Greene, southwardly to Carolina, and in the course of the campaign, recovered the country from its late conquerors. This was facilitated by the previous enterpises of Generals Sumpter and Marion. These distinguished partisans, though surrounded with enemies, kept the field and animated the

whig inhabitants of South Carolina to deeds of valor, while the two main armies were in North Carolina and Virginia. Though the continental army was driven over Dan river, Marion and Sumpter did not despair of the commonwealth. Having mounted their followers, their motions were rapid and their attacks unexpected. With their light troops they intercepted the British convoys of provisions, infested their outposts, beat up their quarters, and harassed their detachments with such frequent alarms, that they were obliged to be always on their guard. In the western extremity of the State, Sumpter was powerfully supported by Colonels Niel, Lacey, Hill, Winn, Bratton, Brandon, and others, each of whom held militia commissions, and had many friends. In the northeartern extremity, Marion received, in like manner, great assistance from the active exertions of Colonels Peter Horry and Hugh Horry, Lieutenant-Colonel John Baxter, Colonel James Postell, Major John Postell, and Major John James.

The inhabitants, either as affection or vicinity induced them, arranged themselves under some of these militia officers, and performed many gallant enterprises.*

SECTION IX.

Marion's Brigade.

Marion and his brigade were so distinguished, and at the same time so detached in their operations, as to merit and require particular notice.

General Francis Marion was born at Winyaw, in 1733. His grandfather was a native of Languedoc, and one of the many Protestants who fled from France to Carolina to avoid persecution on the account of religion. He left thirteen children, the eldest of whom was the father of the general. Francis Marion, when only sixteen years of age, made choice of a seafaring life. On his first voyage to the West Indies he was shipwrecked. The crew, consisting of six persons, took to the open boat, without water or provisions, except a dog who jumped into the boat from the sinking vessel. They were six days in the boat before they made land, having nothing to eat in that time but the dog, whom they devoured raw. Two of the crew perished. Francis Marion, with three others, reached

* The author would gladly have recorded these events minutely, if the particulars were either known by him or had been communicated to him. The information received of the corps commanded by Sumpter is very general, and of course deficient, though exertions were made to procure it in detail. He has been more successful in his applications to the friends of the deceased General Marion, and with gratitude acknowledges the obligations he is under to Captain John Palmer, and to the Honorable William James, Esq., for interesting information respecting that distinguished officer and his brigade.

land. This disaster, and the entreaties of his mother, induced him to quit the sea. In Littleton's expedition against the Indians in 1759, he went as a volunteer in his brother's militia troop of horse. In Grant's expetition to the Indian country in 1761, he served as a lieutenant under Captain William Moultrie. On the formation of a regular army in 1775, to defend his native province against Great Britain, he was appointed a captain in the Second South Carolina regiment, and had gradually risen to the rank of colonel before Charlestown fell. Fortunately for his country, he had fractured his leg and retired from the garrison, which prevented his being made a prisoner of war. After the surrender, he retreated to North Carolina. On the approach of General Gates he advanced with a small party through the country towards the Santee. On his arrival there he found a number of his countrymen ready and willing to put themselves under his command, to which he had been appointed by General Gates. This corps afterwards acquired the name of Marion's Brigade. Its origin was as singular as its exploits were honorable.

In the month of June, 1780, a British captain named Ardesoif, arrived at Georgetown and published a proclamation, inviting the people to come in, swear allegiance to King George, and take protection. Many of the inhabitants of Georgetown submitted. But there remained a portion of that district stretching from the Santee to the Peedee, containing the whole of the present Williamsburg and part of Marion district, to which the British arms had not penetrated. The inhabitants of it were generally of Irish extraction, and very little disposed to submission. At this crisis there was a meeting of this people to deliberate on their situation. Major John James, who had heretofore commanded them in the field and represented them in the State Legislature, was selected as the person who should go down to Captain Ardesoif and know from him upon what terms they would be allowed to submit. Accordingly he proceeded to Georgetown in the plain garb of a country planter, and was introduced to the Captain at his lodgings.

After narrating the nature of his mission, the Captain surprised that such an embassy should be sent to him, answered "that their submission must be unconditional." To an inquiry, "whether they would be allowed to stay at home upon their plantations in peace and quiet," he replied, "though you have rebelled against his majesty he offers you a free pardon, of which you were undeserving, for you ought all to have been hanged. As he offers you a free pardon you must take up arms in support of his cause." To Major James suggest-

ing "that the people he came to represent would not submit on such terms," the Captain, irritated at his republican language, particularly at the word "represent," replied, "you damned rebel! if you speak in such language, I will immediately order you to be hanged up to the yard arm." Major James perceiving what turn matters were likely to take, and not brooking this harsh language, suddenly seized the chair on which he was seated, brandished it in the face of the Captain, made his way good through the back door of the house, mounted his horse and made his escape into the country. This circumstance which appears now so trivial, gave rise to Marion's brigade. When the whole adventure was related at a meeting of the inhabitants of Williamsburg, it was unanimously determined that they would again take up arms in defence of their country and not against it. Major James was desired to command them as heretofore, and they arranged themselves under their revolutionary Captains, William M'Cottry, Henry Mowzon and John James, junior.

The small band thus resolved on further resistance was about two hundred men. Shortly after, Colonel Hugh Giles joined them with two companies, Thornly's and Witherspoon's. On this accession of force a consultation was held, and it was agreed to dispatch a messenger to General Gates, who about this time had arrived on the confines of the State, requesting him to send them a Commander. Shortly after these events, Colonel Tarleton crossed the Santee at Lenud's ferry, and hearing of the late proceedings in Williamsburg, approached at the head of some cavalry to surprise the party of Major James; but Captain M'Cottry, as soon as he received notice of his movements, marched his company of fifty men to give him battle. Tarleton was posted at King's Tree bridge, on Black river, and M'Cottry approached him at midnight; but by means of the wife of the only loyalist in that part of the country, Tarleton gained intelligence of M'Cottry's movements, and marched away a few hours before the latter arrived. M'Cottry pursued him, but without effect.

In this route Tarleton burnt the house of Captain Mowzon and took Mr. James Bradley* prisoner.

*This gentleman was taken prisoner by stratagem. Colonel Tarleton came to his house and passed himself for Colonel Washington of the American army. Bradley made much of his guest, and without suspicion freely communicated to him the plans and views of himself and other Carolinians for co-operating with their countrymen against the British. When the interview and its hospitalities were ended, Tarleton requested Bradley to accompany him as a guide to a neighboring place. This service was cheerfully performed On their arrival, Tarleton's party appeared in full view and took charge of Bradley as a prisoner. The host thus taken by order of his late guest was sent to Camden jail, and there confined in irons. He was frequently carted to the gallows to witness the execution of his countrymen as rebels, and was told to prepare for a similar fate as his time was

In the meantime Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Horry arrived from Georgetown with a small party and took command of the force already raised by Major James, and on all occasions very much animated the men by his gallantry and persevering patriotism. The messenger, however, had been dispatched to Gates, and on the first or second of August, General Francis Marion arrived to the great joy of all the friends of America. He was accompanied by Colonel Peter Horry, Major John Vanderhorst, Captains Lewis Ogier and James Thems, and Captain John Milton, of Georgia. In a few days after taking the command, General Marion led his men across the Peedee at Post's ferry to disperse a large party of tories commanded by Major Gainey, collected between great and little Peedee. He surprised them in their camp; killed one of their captains and several privates. Two of his own party were wounded. Major James was detached at the head of a volunteer troop of horse to attack their horse. He came up with them, charged and drove them into little Peedee swamp. Marion returned to Posts's ferry and threw up a redoubt on the east bank of Peedee to awe the tories, still numerous in that neighborhood. While thus employed he heard of the defeat of Gates, at Camden, August 16th, 1780. Without communicating the intelligence, he immediately marched for Nelson's ferry on the Santee, in the hope of intercepting some of the prisoners on their way to Charlestown. Near Nelson's he was informed of a party on their way down, and found by his scouts that the British had stopped at the house on the main road on the east side of Santee. The General waited till near daylight next morning and then divided his men into two divisions. A small party under Colonel Hugh Horry* was directed to obtain possession of the road at the entrance of the swamp, and the main body led by himself was by a circuitous route to attack the British in the rear. Colonel Horry in taking his position, had advanced in the dark too near to a sentinel who fired upon him. In a moment he with his little party rushed up to the house, found the British arms piled before the door and seized

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next. On such occasions, and when interrogated at courts-martial, he made no other reply than that "I am ready and willing to die in the cause of my country; but remember, if I am hanged, I have many friends in General Marion's brigade, and my death will occasion a severe retaliation." Either awed by his virtues or apprehensive of the consequences, his captors did not execute their threats. His life was spared, but he was kept in irons as long as the British had possession of the upper country. He bore the marks of these rugged instruments of confinement till the day of his death, and would occasionally show them to his young friends, with a request "that if the good of their country required the sacrifice, they would suffer imprisonment and death in its cause."

*This gallant officer was the bosom friend of General Marion. Wherever the latter was personally engaged in action, the former was to be seen at his side.

upon them. Thus by a party of sixteen American militia was a British guard of thirty-two men taken, and one hundred and fifty prisoners released. Colonel Horry had one man wounded. However, the news of the defeat of Gates, which now became public, damped all joy for the complete success of this well conducted attack. On the same day General Marion marched back for his old position on the Peedee. On the way many of his militia, and, with the exception of two, the whole of the regulars released from the enemy, deserted. But by the exertions of the General and his officers, the spirits of the drooping began to revive. About the 14th of September, 1780, when Marion had under his command only 150 men, he heard of the approach of Major Weyms, from the King's Tree, at the head of a British regiment and Harrison's regiment of tories. Major James was instantly dispatched at the head of a party of volunteers to reconnoitre, and with orders to count the enemy. On his return a council of war was called. The British force was reported to be double that of Marion's. Gainey's party of tories in the rear had always been estimated at 500 men. Under these discouraging circumstances the line of march was directed back towards Lynch's creek. This was a most trying occasion. Men were called upon to leave their property and their families at the discretion of an irritated relentless enemy. About half of Marion's party left him; Colonels Peter and Hugh Horry, Colonels John Erwin and John Baxter, Major John Vanderhorst, Major John James, Major Benson, and about sixty others continued with their General. Captain James, with ten chosen men, was left to succor the distressed and to convey intelligence.* The next morning Marion arrived at his redoubt; and at sunset the same evening turned towards North Carolina, and soon reached the eastern bank of Drowning creek in that State. Major James obtained leave to return at the head of a few volunteers; and General Marion continued on to the White marsh, near the source of the Waccamaw. In a little time the Major returned with intelligence of the depredations and house burnings committed by Weyms. Many of Marion's party were reduced from easy circumstances to poverty.

After a few days more of repose, the General returned by forced marches towards South Carolina. When near to Lynch's creek he was informed that a party of tories, much more numerous than his own, lay at Black Mingo, fifteen miles below. Every voice was for the General to lead on his men to an attack; and they were gratified.

*He continued in the vicinity of the British encampments and to fire upon stragglers from it as long as his powder and ball lasted.

The tories lay at Shepherd's ferry on the south side of that creek. To approach them Marion was obliged to cross the creek at a bridge one mile above the ferry. As soon as the front files of his advance had struck the bridge, with their horses' feet, an alarm gun was fired by the enemy and they were advantageously posted to receive him. A sharp conflict ensued. In an interval of platoons Marion was heard to call out, "advance cavalry and charge on the left." Instantly the tories broke and ran for Black Mingo swamp. The parties had been engaged for a considerable time so near to each other that the wads of their guns struck on each side, and both fired balls and buckshot. Neither had bayonets, or they would have been used. Captain Logan, and one private of Marion's party were killed; but of those engaged, nearly one-half were wounded. Two gallant officers, Captain Mowzon and his Lieutenant Joseph Scott, were rendered unfit for further service.

The tories had five killed, and a considerable number wounded. Several of these had lately been companions in arms with Marion's party, but from mistaken views had changed sides. The General without delay marched into Williamsburg. In a short time his party was four hundred strong.

Thus re-inforced the General proceeded up Lynch's creek, to chastise the tories who had assisted Weyms. On his march he obtained information that Colonel Tynes was collecting a large body of tories in the fork of Black river, distant about thirty miles. The General instantly proceeded towards them; crossing the north branch of Black river, he came up with Tynes—surprised and completely defeated him without the loss of a man. When Marion approached, the first party of tories was playing cards; and Captain Gaskens one of the plundering companions of Weyms, was killed with a card in his hand. Several other tories were killed and wounded. In all these marches Marion and his men lay in the open air with little covering, and with little other food than sweet potatoes and meat mostly without salt. Though it was in the unhealthy season of autumn, yet sickness seldom occurred. The General fared worse than his men; for his baggage having caught fire by accident, he had literally but half a blanket to cover him from the dews of the night, and but half a hat to shelter him from the rays of the sun. Soon after the defeat of Tynes, General Marion took a position on Snow's Island, This is situated at the conflux of the Peedee and Lynch's creek, is of a triangular form, and is bounded by Peedee on the northeast—by Lynch's creek on the north—and by Clark's creek, a branch of the latter, on the west and south. Here,

by having command of the rivers, he could be abundantly supplied with provisions, and his post was inaccessible except by water. Major John Postell was stationed to guard the lower part of the river Peedee. While there, Captain James De-Peyster of the royal army, with twenty-nine grenadiers, having taken post in the house of the major's father, the major posted his small command of twenty-eight militia-men in such positions as commanded its doors and demanded their surrender. This being refused, he set fire to an out-house and was proceeding to burn that in which they were posted; and nothing but the immediate submission of the whole party restrained him from sacrificing his father's valuable property to gain an advantage for his country.

From Snow's Island during the winter next after the fall of Charlestown, General Marion sent out his scouts in all directions. In January 1781, he sent two small detachments of militia dragoons, under the command of Major Postell and Captain Postell, to cross the Santee. The former destroyed a great quanity of valuable stores at Manigault's ferry; the latter did the same at another place in the vicinity. Thence he marched to Keithfield near Monk's Corner, where he destroyed fourteen wagons loaded with soldiers' clothing and baggage; besides several other valuable stores, and took forty prisoners chiefly British regulars, and effected the whole without any loss. In the course of these desultory operations, Marion killed and captured a number of the British and their tory friends more than double of his own force.

In the course of the contest, a new race of young warriors had sprung up. The General was desirous of employing them, and to give some repose to those who had served from the beginning. Among these the brothers, the Postells, were all active and enterprising. Major Benson commanded the cavalry; under him was John Thompson Green; under them were Daniel Conyers and James M'Cauley; who on every occasion signalized themselves. Captain M'Cottry commanded a company of riflemen.* Wherever his name was repeated it struck terror into the hearts of the enemy. The warfare was various and bloody. Lieutenant Roger Gordon, of Marion's party being upon a scout upon Lynch's creek, stopped at a house of refreshments. While there, the house was beset and fired by a Captain Butler and a party of tories greatly superior in number. Gordon's party surrendered upon a promise of quarters, but after laying down their arms, Butler fell upon them and butchered them in cold blood.

* No man was more beloved by his men than M'Cottry; his active services brought upon him a complication of disorders which shortened his life.

In consequence of this massacre "no quarters for tories," was the cry with Marion's men when going into action. Still however the regular British forces were treated with lenity, and agreeably to the generally received rules of war, when they laid down their arms. The pruning hook was converted into a spear; and the saw, under the hands of a common blacksmith, became a terrible sabre. Powder and ball were much wanted. On account of the small stock of both, the orders often were to give the British one or two fires and to retreat. Those fires were always well directed and did great execution.

Marion so effectually thwarted the schemes of the British against South Carolina, that to drive him out of the country was with them a favorite object. The house burnings and devastations perpetrated by Weyms and the tories under his direction, had not produced that intimidation and disposition to submit which had been vainly expected from men who disregarded property when put in competition with liberty. A new and well concerted attempt to destroy, or disperse, the brigade which had given so much trouble to the late conquerors was made early in 1781.

Colonel Watson moved down from Camden along the Santee, and Colonel Doyle crossing Lynch's creek marched down on the east side of it. The point of their intended junction was supposed to be at Snow's Island. General Marion heard first of the approach of Watson, and marched from Snow's Island with almost the whole of his force to meet him. At Tawcaw swamp, nearly opposite to the mouth of the present Santee canal on the east side of the river, he laid the first ambuscade for Watson. General Marion had then but very little ammunition, not more than twenty rounds to each man. His orders were to give two fires and retreat; and they were executed by Colonel Peter Horry with great effect. Watson made good the passage of the swamp, and sent Major Harrison with a corps of tory cavalry and some British in pursuit of Horry. This had been foreseen by the cautious Marion; and Captain Daniel Conyers, at the head of a party of cavalry, was placed in a second ambuscade. As soon as the tories and British came up, Conyers, in a spirited and well-directed charge, killed with his own hands the officer who led on the opposite charge. Conyer's men followed his gallant example. Many of Harrison's party were killed, and the remainder made their escape to the main body of the British. Such work required little powder and ball. General Marion continued to harass Watson on his march, by pulling up bridges and opposing him in like manner at every difficult pass until they had reached near the lower bridge on Black river, seven miles

below King's Tree. Here Watson made a feint of marching down the road to Georgetown. Marion being too weak to detach a party to the bridge, had taken an advantageous post on that road; when Watson wheeling suddenly about gained possession of the bridge on the west side. This was an important pass on the road leading into the heart of Williamsburg and to Snow's Island. The river on the west runs under a high bluff; the grounds on the opposite side are low and the river, though generally fordable, was then raised by a swell nearly up to the summit of the opposite shore. Watson still hesitated about passing.

General Marion, informed of Watson's movement, without delay approached the river, plunged into it on horseback and called to his men to follow. They did so. The whole party reached the opposite shore in safety, and marched forward to occupy the east end of the bridge. Marion detached Major James with forty musqueteers, and thirty riflemen under M'Cottry to burn the bridge. The riflemen were posted to advantage on the river bank, but as soon as their friends had gained possession of the east end of the bridge, and had applied fascines to it, Watson opened the fire of his artillery upon them, but it was unavailing. The west bank of the river was so much elevated above the east that before his field pieces could be brought to bear upon the Americans, his artillerists were exposed to the fire of the riflemen, who deliberately picked them off as they advanced to the summit of the hill. In the meantime Major James' party had fired the bridge. Thus were Marion's friends saved from similar plunderings and conflagrations with those they had suffered under Weyms. The practice of Watson was to burn all the houses of Marion's men that were in the line of his march.

Watson was so much intimidated by this affair, that he immediately quitted the lower bridge and proceeded by forced marches to Georgetown. General Marion repassed Black river, and hung alternately on the rear, the flanks, or the front of the enemy until they had reached Sampit bridge, nine miles from Georgetown. There M'Cottry gave them a parting fire from his riflemen. During these transactions, Watson commanded five hundred men, and Marion not half that number. The loss of the British is unknown, that of Marion but one man.

The three officers, and all the men employed by the General at the lower bridge, were inhabitants, whose plantations and families would have been exposed to the enemy had they made good their passage. From Sampit bridge Marion marched directly for Snow's Island. There he heard of the approach of Doyle, who had driven Colonel Erwin from the Island and

taken possession of the pass of Lynch's creek, at Witherspoon's ferry. When M'Cottry, advancing in front, arrived at Witherspoon's, on the south bank of the creek, the British on the north were scuttling the ferry boat. He approached softly to the edge of the water and gave them an unexpected fire. A short conflict took place between ill-directed musketry, whose balls hit the tops of the trees on the opposite side, and riflemen, whose well directed aim seldom failed of doing execution at every fire. Doyle fell back to Camden.

In addition to these skirmishes, Marion made two descents on Georgetown. In the first, he came unexpectedly on a body of tories, whom he charged and dispersed after their Captain and several of their men were killed. In this affair Captain Marion, brother of the present member of Congress from Charlestown District, was killed and, it was believed, after he had been taken prisoner.

Marion's second descent was more successful. With a party of militia he marched to Georgetown, and began regular approaches against the British post in that place. On the first night after his men had broken ground, their adversaries evacuated their works and retreated to Charlestown. Shortly after, one Manson, an inhabitant of South Carolina, who had joined the British, appeared in an armed vessel and demanded permission to land his men in the town. This being refused, he sent a few of them ashore and set fire to it. Upwards of forty houses were speedily reduced to ashes.

After the return of General Greene to Carolina, in 1781, Marion acted under his orders, and the exploits of his brigade, no longer acting by itself, made a part of the general history of the revolutionary war.

SECTION X.

Campaign of 1781 *Continued.*

It was no sooner known in South Carolina that Lord Cornwallis had left the State in pursuit of the American army, than General Sumpter, who had just recovered from his wound, collected a force to penetrate into the heart of the country, as well with the design of distracting the views of the British as of encouraging the friends of independence. Early in February, 1781, he crossed the Congaree, and appeared in force before Fort Granby and destroyed its magaznes. Lord Rawdon advanced from Camden for the relief of the post, on which General Sumpter retreated, but immediately appeared before another British post, near Colonel Thompson's. On the second day after this excursion he attacked and defeated an escort convoying some wagons and stores from Charles-

town to Camden. Thirteen of the British detachment were killed and sixty-six taken prisoners. The captured stores were sent in boats down the Congaree, but on their passage they were retaken. Sumpter, with three hundred and fifty horsemen, swam across the Santee and proceeded to Fort Watson, at Wright's Bluff, but on Lord Rawdon's marching from Camden for its relief, he retired to Black river. On his return, he was attacked near Camden, by Major Frazer, at the head of a considerable force of British regulars and militia. The Major lost twenty of his men, and was obliged to retreat. Sumpter having, by this excursion, satisfied the friends of independence in the centre of the State that their cause was not desperate, retired in safety to the borders of North Carolina. Hitherto all his enterprises had been effected by volunteers from the militia, but the long continued services in the field which were required, pointed out the propriety of a more permanent corps. He, therefore, in March, 1781, enlisted three small regiments of regular State troops, to be employed in constant service for the space of ten months. With these, and the returning continental army, the war recommenced in South Carolina with new vigor, and was carried on with more regularity.

General Greene, having determined to return to South Carolina, sent orders to General Pickens to collect the militia of his brigade, and to prevent supplies from going to the British garrisons at Ninety-Six and Augusta. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with his legion and part of the second Maryland brigade, was ordered to advance before the continental troops, to co-operate with General Marion.

About the time that these preparations were making to renew the war in South Carolina, seventy-six exiles, who had been compelled to seek refuge with General Marion on the north side of Santee, re-crossed that river with the bold design of re-visiting their own settlements. Some of them were from the militia of the sea-coast of Carolina, to the southward of Charlestown, and others from Georgia. The first commanded by Colonel Harden, the latter by Colonel Baker. On their way they fell in with about twenty-five of the royal militia, at Four Holes, and captured the whole of them. The privates were paroled, and their officers carried off. As they marched through the country, parties were sent to the houses of the officers of the royal militia, some of whom were taken, and others fled to Charlestown. Colonel Harden had two or three successful skirmishes with detachments of the British, but his capital manœuvre was the surprise of Fort Balfour, at Pokataligo. By his address and good management in this enterprise, three British Colonels of militia, Fenwick, Lechmere

and Kelsal, with thirty-two regular dragoons and fifty-six privates of the royal militia, surrendered on the 12th of April, 1781, to this handful of returning exiles, without any loss on their part. Colonel Harden had his party considerably increased by daily accessions of the people inhabiting the southern seacoast of Carolina. With their aid he prosecuted, in that part of the State, the same successful plan of opposition to the British which was begun much earlier in the northwestern and northeastern extremities under the auspices of his gallant co-adjutors, Sumpter and Marion.

General Greene marched with the main army from Deep river, in North Carolina, towards Camden. The British were no less alarmed than surprised when they heard that Lieutenant-Colonel Lee had penetrated through the country, and in eight days effected a junction with General Marion, near the Santee, and that the main body of the Americans encamped on the 19th of April before Camden. To secure the provisions that grow on the fertile banks of the Santee and Congaree rivers, the British had erected a chain of posts in their vicinity. One of the most important of these was on an eminence, known by the name of Wright's Bluff, and called Fort Watson. This was closely invested, on the 15th of April, by about eighty militia-men under General Marion, and by the continentals commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lee. Neither party had any other means of annoyance or defence but musketry. Though the ground on which the fort stood was an Indian mount, thirty or forty feet high, yet the besiegers, under the direction of Colonel Maham, erected, in a few days, on an unusual plan, a work much higher. From this eminence the American riflemen fired into the fort with such execution that the besieged durst not show themselves. On the twenty-third the garrison, consisting of one hundred and fourteen men, surrendered by capitulation.

Camden, before which the main army was encamped, is a village situated on a plain covered on the south and east sides by the Wateree, and a creek which empties itself in that river. On the western and northern by six strong redoubts. It was defended by Lord Rawdon with about nine hundred men. The American army, consisting of about seven hundred continentals, was unequal to the task of carrying this post by storm or of completely investing it. The General therefore took a good position at Hobkirk's Hill, about a mile distant, in expectation of favorable events and with a view of alluring the garrison out of their lines. Lord Rawdon armed his musicians, drummers, and everything that could carry a firelock, and with great spirit sallied on the twenty-fifth. An engagement ensued. Victory for some time very evidently inclined to the

side of the Americans; but in the progress of the action the fortune of the day was changed, and the British kept the field. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington was ordered to turn the right flank of the British, and to charge in their rear. While he executed this order he was so confident of the success of the main army, that he divided his men into small parties, and made them take such positions as he thought most eligible for intercepting the fugitives on their retreat to Camden. At one time he had in his possesion upwards of two hundred; but he relinquished the greatest part of them on seeing the American army retreat. On this unexpected reverse of fortune he paroled the officers on the field of battle—collected his men—wheeled round—and made his retreat good, with the loss of three men, and at the same time brought off near fifty prisoners. The killed, wounded, and missing of the Americans was about two hundred. The British had one officer killed, and eleven taken prisoners. General Greene retreated in good order, with his artillery and baggage, to Gun Swamp, about five miles from the place of action. In the evening after this action Lieutenant-Colonel Washington marched with fifty men of the cavalry within a mile of the British army, and after sending forward a small party, concealed his principal force in the woods. As soon as the advanced small party was discovered, Major Coffin, at the head of about forty of the Irish volunteers, pursued them a considerable distance. After the British party had passed the American cavalry, which was concealed, the latter rushed from the woods and charged them so briskly in the rear, that they lost upwards of twenty of their number.

Very soon after the action, on the 25th of April, General Greene, knowing that the British garrison could not subsist long in Camden without fresh supplies from Charlestown or the country, detached a reinforcement to General Marion on the road to Nelson's ferry; and on the third of May crossed the Wateree, and took occasionally such positions as would most effectually prevent succors from going into the town from that quarter. On the seventh of May Lord Rawdon received a considerable reinforcement by the arrival of the detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Watson. With this increase of force he attempted, on the day following, to compel General Greene to another action; but soon found that this was impracticable. Failing in his design, he returned to Camden; and on the tenth burned the gaol, mills, many private houses and a great deal of his own baggage—evacuated the post—and retired with his whole army to the south of the Santee; leaving about thirty of his own sick and wounded, and as many of the Americans, who, on the twenty-fifth of April, had fallen into his hands. Lord Rawdon discovered as great

prudence in this evacuation of Camden as he had shown bravery in its defence. The fall of Fort Watson broke the chain of communication with Charlestown, and the positions of the American army intercepted all supplies from the country. The return of General Greene to the southward being unexpected, the stores of the garrison were not provided for a siege. Lord Rawdon had the honor of saving his men though he lost the post, the country, and the confidence of the tories. He offered every assistance in his power to the friends of British government who would accompany him; but it was a hard alternative to the new-made subjects to be obliged to abandon their property, or be left at the mercy of their exasperated countrymen. Several families nevertheless accompanied his lordship. These were cruelly neglected after their arrival in Charlestown. They built themselves huts without the works. Their settlement was called Rawdontown; which, from its poverty and wretchedness, became a term of reproach. Many women and children, who lived comfortably on their farms near Camden, soon died of want in these, their new habitations.

This evacuation animated the friends of Congress, and gave a very general alarm to the British. The former had been called upon for their personal services, to assist in regaining the country, but were disheartened by the repulse of General Greene from before Camden; but, from the moment that Lord Rawdon evacuated that post their numbers daily increased, and the British posts fell in quick succession. On the day after the evacuation of Camden the garrison of Orangeburg, consisting of seventy British militia and twelve regulars, surrendered to General Sumpter. The next day fort Motte capitulated. After the surrender of fort Watson, General Marion and Lieutenant-Colonel Lee crossed the Santee and moved up to this post, which lies above the Fork on the south side of the Congaree, where they arrived on the eighth of May. The approaches were carried on so rapidly, that a house in the centre of the fort was set on fire the fourth day after they began the entrenchments; and the garrison, which consisted of 165 men, commanded by Lieutenant M'Pherson, was compelled, after a brave defence, to surrender at discretion. On this occasion Mrs. Motte displayed an eminent example of disinterested patriotism. The British had built their works round her dwelling house, on which she removed to a neighboring hut. When she was informed that firing the house was the easiest mode of reducing the garrison, she presented the besiegers with a quiver of African arrows to be employed for that purpose. Skewers armed with combustible materials were also used, and with more effect. Success soon

crowned these experiments, and her joy was inexpressible that the reduction of the post was expedited, though at the expense of her property. Two days after this surrender, the British evacuated their post at Nelson's ferry—blew up their fortifications—and destroyed a great part of their stores. The day following, fort Granby, near Friday's ferry, about thirty miles to the westward of fort Motte, surrendered by capitulation. Very advantageous terms were given by the assailants in consequence of information that Lord Rawdon was marching to its relief. This was a post of more consequence than the others, and might have been better defended; but the offer of security to the baggage of the garrison, in which was included an immense quantity of plunder, hastened the surrender. For some time before, it had been greatly harassed by Colonel Taylor's regiment of militia, and had also been invested by General Sumpter. On the night of the fourteenth of May, Lieutenant-Colonel Lee erected a battery within six hundred yards of its out-works, on which he mounted a six-pounder. After the third discharge from this field-piece, Major Maxwell capitulated. His force consisted of three hundred and fifty-two men, a great part of whom were royal militia.

While these operations were carrying on against the small posts, General Greene proceeded with the main army to Ninety-Six. This place being of great consequence was defended by a considerable force. Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger conducted the defence with great bravery and judgment. Major Green, in particular, acquired distinguished reputation by his spirited and judicious conduct in defending the redoubt against which the Americans made their principal efforts.

On the left of the besiegers was a work erected in the form of a star; on the right was a strong stockade fort, with two block houses in it. The town, flanked by these two works, was also piquetted with strong piquets, and surrounded with a ditch, and a bank near the height of a common parapet. There were also several flushes in different parts of the town, and all the works communicated with each other by covered ways. On the twenty-third of May 1781, the main body of the American army encamped in a wood within half a mile of Ninety-Six; and on that night, threw up two flushes within one hundred and fifty yards of the star fort. The next morning the enemy made a sally, and being supported by the artillery and musketry from the parapet of the star redoubt, drove the besiegers from them. The next night two strong block batteries were erected at the distance of three hundred and fifty yards, which were opened in the morning. Another battery twenty feet high, erected within two hundred and twenty

yards, was finished in a few days; and soon afterwards, another of the same height was erected within one hundred yards of the main fort. Approaches were gradually carried on against the redoubt on the left. Colonel Koziusko, a young gentleman of distinction from Poland, superintended the operations of the besiegers, and by his assiduity, though the ground was hard and the situation unfavorable, a third parallel within thirty yards of the ditch was completed on May 14th; and a rifle battery, upwards of thirty feet high, erected at the same distance. On the seventeenth the abbatis was turned, and two trenches and a mine were extended so as to be within six feet of the ditch. Few sieges afford greater instances of perseverance and intrepidity, than were exhibited on this occasion by the besiegers and besieged. Riflemen were employed on both sides, who immediately levelled at every person who appeared in sight and very seldom missed their object. Various success attended the conflicts between the several covering parties of the workmen, and those who repeatedly sallied from the garrison.

On the third of June, twelve days after the commencement of this seige, a fleet arrived at Charlestown from Ireland having on board the third, nineteenth, and thirtieth regiment of his Britannic majesty, a detachment from the guards, and a considerable body of recruits, the whole commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Gould. Earl Cornwallis had given permission to the commanders of the British forces in South Carolina, to detain these reinforcements if they conceived that the service of his Britannic majesty required it; otherwise they were to be sent forward to join his lordship. On the 7th of June, 1781, Lord Rawdon marched from Charlestown, with these newly arrived troops, for the relief of the garrison at Ninety-Six. Great were the difficulties they had to encounter in rapidly marching under the rage of a burning sun through the whole extent of South Carolina; but much greater was their astonishment at being informed, that their services in the field were necessary to oppose the yet unsubdued rebels in the province. They had been amused with hopes that nothing remained for them to do, but to sit down as settlers on the forfeited lands of a conquered country.

The American army had advanced their approaches very near that critical point, after which further resistance on the part of the garrison would have been temerity. At this interesting moment intelligence was received, that Lord Rawdon was near at hand with a reinforcement of about two thousand men. An American lady, who had lately married an officer then in the British garrison of Ninety-Six, had been bribed by a large sum of money to convey a letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger with the welcome news of their approach.

Attempts had been made to retard their march, but without the desired effect. Their vicinity made it necessary either to raise the seige, or attempt the reduction of the place by a coup-de-main. The last was agreed upon, and the necessary dispositions made on the 18th of June. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with his legion infantry, and Captain Kirkwood's light infantry, made the attack on the right. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with the first Maryland and first Virginia regiments, were to have stormed the star redoubt, the ditch of which was eight or nine feet deep, the parapet eleven or twelve feet high, and raised with sand-bags near three feet more. The forlorn hopes were led on by Lieutenants Duval and Sheldon, and were followed by a party with hooks and entrenching tools to pull down the sand-bags and reduce the parapet. Had this been effected, the besieged could not have annoyed the assailants without exposing themselves to the American marksmen. The artillery soon made sufficient breaches on the fortified redoubt on the right, for the infantry under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Lee to assault the garrison. It was therefore abandoned, and they took possession without loss. On the left the utmost exertions of resolution and fortitude were displayed, but failed of success. The parties led by Duval and Sheldon entered the ditch, and, though galled by an incessant fire, made every effort to get down the sand-bags. Both these gallant officers were wounded, and not more than one in six of their party escaped. The near approach of Lord Rawdon, and the uncertainty of final success, induced General Greene to raise the siege and to retreat over the Saluda, after having lost about one hundred and fifty men.

Truly distressing was the situation of the American army: when in the grasp of victory, to be obliged to expose themselves to the dangers of an hazardous assault, and afterwards to abandon the siege: when they were nearly masters of the whole country, to be compelled to retreat to its extremity: after subduing the greatest part of the force lately opposed to them, to be under the necessity of encountering still greater reinforcements, when their remote situation precluded them from the hope of receiving a single recruit. In this gloomy situation there were not wanting persons who advised General Greene to leave the State, and retire with his remaining force to Virginia. To arguments and suggestions of this kind he nobly replied, "I will recover the country, or die in the attempt." This distinguished officer, whose genius was most vigorous in those perilous extremities when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, adopted the only resource now left him, of avoiding an engagement till the British force should be divided.

Lord Rawdon, who by rapid marches was very near Nine-

ty-Six at the time of the assault, pursued General Greene as far as the Enoree; but finding it impossible to overtake the light retreating American army, and supposing that they had gone to North Carolina or Virginia, his lordship consoled himself with the imaginary advantage of having driven the rebels out of the country. On this occasion General Pickens exhibited an illustrious instance of republican virtue. When the retreat was ordered, the General's family and private property was sent off with the baggage of the army. This precaution, though wished for by all, and justified on every principle of prudence, gave an alarm to many who either had not the same means of transportation, or who could not have attended to it without deserting the American army. To encourage the men to stay in the camp, and their families to remain on their plantations, General Pickens ordered his family and property back again to his house within twenty miles of the British garrison. His example saved the country in the vicinity from depopulation, and the army under General Greene from sustaining a great diminution of their numbers by the desertion of the militia to take care of their families.

The arrival of the British reinforcement, and the subsequent retreat from Ninety-Six, induced a general apprehension, that the British would soon re-establish the posts they had lost to the southward of Santee. The destination of the main army under Lord Cornwallis having been for some time known, the British Commanders in South Carolina had contracted their boundaries to that extent of country which is in a great measure inclosed by the Santee, the Congaree, and the Edisto. Within these rivers Lord Rawdon intended to confine his future operations, and to canton his forces in the most eligible positions. His lordship, taking it for granted that the Americans had abandoned South Carolina, resolved, upon his return from pursuing General Greene, to divide his army, with the intention of fixing a detachment at the Congaree; but he soon found that his adversaries were not disposed to give up the prize for which they had so long contended. Greene, on hearing that Lord Rawdon had marched with a part of his force to Congaree, faced about to give him battle. Lord Rawdon, no less surprised than alarmed at this unexpected movement of his lately retreating foe, abandoned the Congaree in two days after his arrival there and retreated expeditiously to Orangeburg. In this position he was secured on one side with a river, and on the other with strong buildings little inferior to redoubts. Greene pursued—encamped within five miles of this post—and offered him battle. His lordship, secure in his stronghold, would not venture out; and General

Greene was too weak to attack him in his works with any prospect of success. In the course of these movements, on the second of July, Captain Eggleston, of Lee's legion, fell in with forty-nine British horse, near the Saluda, and took forty-eight of them prisoners. Whilst the American army lay near Orangeburg, advice was received that Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger had evacuated Ninety-Six, and was marching with the troops of that garrison through the forks of Edisto to join Lord Rawdon at Orangeburg. As the north fork of Edisto is not passable by an army, without boats, for thirty miles above or below the British encampments, General Greene could not throw himself between with any prospect of preventing the junction; he therefore retired to the high hills of Santee, and Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger the day after made a junction. The evacuation of Camden having been effected by striking at the posts below it, the same manœuvre was now attempted to induce the British to leave Orangeburg. With this view, on the day that the main American army retired from before that post, Generals Sumpter and Marion, with their brigades and the legion cavalry, were detached to Monk's Corner and Dorchester. They moved down by different roads, and in three days commenced their operations. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee took all the wagons and wagon-horses belonging to a convoy of provisions. Colonel Wade Hampton charged a party of British dragoons within five miles of Charlestown. He also took fifty prisoners at Strawberry ferry, and burned four vessels loaded with valuable stores for the British army. General Sumpter appeared before the garrison at Biggin's church, which consisted of five hundred infantry and upwards of one hundred cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel Coates, who commanded there, after having repulsed the advanced party of General Sumpter, on the next evening destroyed his stores and retreated towards Charlestown. He was closely pursued by Lieutenant-Colonel Lee with the legion, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hampton with the State cavalry. The legion came up with them near Shubrick's plantation, took their rear guard and all their baggage. Captain Armstrong, of Lee's legion, at the head only of five men, charged through a considerable part of their lines and escaped with the loss of two men. Generals Sumpter and Marion, after some hours, came up with the main body; but by this time the British had secured themselves by taking an advantageous post in a range of houses. An attack was however made, and continued with spirit till upwards of forty were killed or wounded by the fire from the houses. The British lost in these different engagements one hundred and forty prisoners, besides several killed and wounded, all the

baggage of the nineteenth regiment, and above one hundred horses and several wagons.

Thus was the war carried on. While the British kept their forces compact, they could not cover the country, and the American general had the precaution to avoid fighting. When they divided the army, their detachments were separately and successfully attacked. While they were in force in the upper country, light parties of Americans were annoying their small posts in the low country near Charlestown. The people soon found that the late conquerors were not able to afford them their promised protection. The spirit of revolt became general, and the British interest daily declined.

Soon after these events, Lord Rawdon, driven from almost the whole of his posts, baffled in all his schemes, and overwhelmed with vexation, sailed for Europe. In the course of his command he aggravated the unavoidable calamities of war by many acts of severity, which admit of no other apology than that they were supposed to be useful to the interests of his royal master.

About the same time that Generals Sumpter and Marion were detached to the lower parts of the State, the main American Army retired to the high hills of Santee, and the British returned to their former station near the junction of the Wateree and the Congaree. Greene, in a little time, began to concert measures to force them a second time from these posts. Though the two armies were within fifteen miles of each other, on a right line, yet, as two rivers intervened, and boats could not be procured, the American army was obliged to take a circuit of seventy miles, with the view of more conveniently crossing the Wateree and the Congaree. Soon after their crossing these rivers, the continental army was joined by the State troops and several corps of militia. The whole American force, thus collected, proceeded the next morning to attack the British army commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart. On the approach of the Americans, the British had retired from the Congarees about forty miles nearer Charlestown, and taken post at the Eutaw Springs. Greene drew up his little force, consisting of about two thousand men, in two lines. The front consisted of the militia from North and South Carolina, and was commanded by Generals Marion and Pickens, and by Colonel De Malmedy. The second consisted of the continental troops from North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland, and was led on by General Sumner, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and Colonel Williams. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with his legion, covered the right flank; Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson, with the State troops, covered the left. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, and

Captain Kirkwood, with the Delaware troops, formed a corps of reserve. As the Americans advanced to the attack, they fell in with two advanced parties of the British, three or four miles ahead of their main army. These being briskly charged by the legion and State troops, soon retired. The front line continued to fire and advance on the British till the action became general, and till they, in their turn, were obliged to give way. They were well supported by General Sumner's North Carolina brigade of Continentals, though they had been under discipline only for a few weeks, and were chiefly composed of militia-men who had been transferred to the continental service to make reparation for their precipitate flight in former actions. In the hottest of the engagement, when great execution was doing on both sides, Colonel Williams and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with the Maryland and Virginia Continentals, were ordered by General Greene to charge with trailed arms. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion; they rushed on, in good order, through a heavy cannonade and a shower of musketry, with such unshaken resolution that they bore down all before them. The State troops of South Carolina were deprived of their gallant leader, Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson, who was wounded very early in the action; but they were nevertheless boldly led on by the second in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Hampton, to a very spirited and successful charge, in which they took upwards of a hundred prisoners. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington brought up the corps-de-reserve on the left, and charged so briskly with his cavalry and Captain Kirkwood's light infantry, as gave them no time to rally or form. The British were closely pursued, and upwards of five hundred prisoners were taken. On their retreat they took their posts in a strong brick house, and in impenetrable shrubs and a picquetted garden. From these advantageous positions they renewed the action; Lieutenant-Colonel Washington made every possible exertion to dislodge them from the thickets, but failed in the attempt—had his horse shot under him, was wounded and taken prisoner. Four six-pounders were ordered up before the house from which the British were firing under cover. These pieces finally fell into their hands, and the Americans retired out of the reach of their fire. They left a strong picquet on the field of battle, and retreated to the nearest water in their rear. In the evening of the next day, Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart destroyed a great quantity of his stores, abandoned the Eutaw, and moved towards Charlestown, leaving upwards of seventy of his wounded, and a thousand stand of arms. He was pursued for several miles, but without effect. The loss of the British amounted to up-

wards of eleven hundred men. That of the Americans was about five hundred, in which number were sixty officers. Among the killed of Greene's army, the brave Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of the Virginia line, was the theme of universal lamentation. While with great firmness he was leading on his brigade to that charge which determined the fate of the day, he received a mortal wound. After his fall he inquired who gave way, and being informed the British were fleeing in all quarters, he added, "I die contented," and immediately expired.

Congress honored General Greene, for his decisive conduct in this action, with a British standard and a gold medal; and they also voted their thanks to the different corps and their Commanders.

After the action at the Eutaws, the Americans retired to their former position on the high hills of Santee, and the British took post in the vicinity of Monk's Corner. While they lay there, a small party of American cavalry, commanded by Colonel Maham, took upwards of eighty prisoners, within sight of their main army. The British no more acted with their usual vigor. On the slightest appearance of danger, they discovered a disposition to flee scarcely inferior to what was exhibited the year before by the American militia.

SECTION XI.

Campaign of 1782.

Though the army under Greene was too weak to risk another general action, yet it became necessary, in the close of the year 1781, to move into the lower country to cover the collection of provisions for subsistence through the winter. In about two months after the action at Eutaw, the main body of the American army was put in motion under Colonel Williams. Greene, with two hundred horse and two hundred infantry, advanced by private roads and appeared near Dorchester so unexpectedly and with such confidence, as induced the British to believe that the whole army was in his rear. This manœuvre had the intended effect. They abandoned their outposts, and retired with their whole force to the quarter-house on Charlestown Neck. By this means all the rice between Edisto and Ashley rivers was saved to the Americans.

The defence of the country was given up, and the conquerors, who had lately carried their arms to the extremities of the State, seldom aimed at anything more than to secure themselves in Charlestown Neck, and to keep a communication with the sea islands, on which they had collected great numbers of cattle. Yet they made some excursions with cavalry.

One of the most important was in February, 1782. While General Marion was attending his duty as a member of the Legislature, at Jacksonborough, his brigade was surprised near the Santee by a party of British horse commanded by that spirited and judicious officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson, (now Count Rumford.) Major Benson, an American officer highly esteemed by his countrymen, Mr. Thomas Broughton, a young gentleman of an ancient family in South Carolina, and some others, were killed. The remainder of the brigade then in camp was for some time dispersed. In a few days the British retired within their lines, and the militia re-assembled.

In the summer of 1782, the British announced their intention of evacuating Charlestown. They offered to pay for rice and other provisions that should be delivered to them before their departure, and at the same threatened that if it was withheld it should be taken by force without compensation. The British offers to purchase being refused, they sent out parties to seize provisions near the different landings, and to bring them by water to Charlestown. One of the most considerable parties on this service was sent to Combakee ferry, where they arrived on the 25th of August, 1782. Brigadier-General Gist, with about three hundred cavalry and infantry of the continental army, was detached to oppose them. He succeeded so far as to capture one of their schooners, and in a great degree to frustrate their designs. Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, though he had been confined for several days, on hearing of the expedition, rose from his bed and followed General Gist. When the British and American detachments approached within a few miles of each other, Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, being in advance with a small party of regulars and militia, engaged with a much superior force, in expectation of support from the main body in his rear. In the midst of his gallant exertions, this all-accomplished youth received a mortal wound. Nature had adorned him with a profusion of her choicest gifts, to which a well conducted education had added its most useful as well as its most elegant improvements. Though his fortune and family entitled him to pre-eminence, yet he was the warm friend of republican equality. Generous and liberal, his heart expanded with genuine philanthropy. Zealous for the rights of humanity, he contended that personal liberty was the birthright of every human being, however diversified by country, color or capacity. His insinuating address won the hearts of all his acquaintances; his sincerity and virtue secured their lasting esteem. Acting from the most honorable principles—uniting the bravery and other talents of a great officer with

the knowledge of a complete scholar, and the engaging manners of a well bred gentleman, he was the idol of his country, the glory of the army, and an ornament of human nature. His abilities shone in the legislature and in the cabinet as well as in the field, and were equal to the highest stations. His admiring country, sensible of his rising merit, stood prepared to confer on him her most distinguished honors. Cut down in the midst of all these prospects, he has left mankind to deplore the calamities of war, which, in the twenty-seventh year of his life, deprived society of so invaluable a citizen.

Throughout the year 1782, the American army acted chiefly on the defensive. A short time before the evacuation, an attempt was made against a British detachment on James' Island. In this unsuccessful enterprise, Captain Wilmot, a brave and worthy officer of the Maryland line, lost his life. This was the last drop of blood shed in the American war.

After General Greene moved from the high hills of Santee into the low country, near Charlestown, a scene of inactivity succeeded different from the busy operations of the late campaign. He was unable to attempt anything against the British within their lines, and they declined risking any general action without them.

While the American soldiers lay encamped in this inactive situation, their tattered rags were so completely worn out that seven hundred of them were as naked as they were born, excepting a small slip of cloth about their waists, and they were nearly as destitute of meat as of clothing. In this condition they lay for three months within four hours march of the British garrison in Charlestown, which contained in it more regular troops than there were continentals in the American army. Though they had abundant reason to complain, yet, while they were every day marching and almost every week fighting, they were in good health, good spirits and good humor; but when their enemy was confined within their fortifications, and they were inactive, they became sickly and discontented, and a few began to be mutinous. Their long arrears of pay, the deficiency of their clothing, and their want of many comforts, were forgotten whilst constant action employed their minds and bodies, but when an interruption of hostilities gave them leisure to brood over their calamities, these evils were presented to their imaginations in aggravated colors. A plan was seriously laid to deliver their gallant and victorious leader into the hands of the British, but the whole design was happily discovered and prevented from being carried into execution. To the honor of the continental army, it may with justice be added, that notwithstanding the pressure of their many sufferings, the whole number concerned in this plot did not exceed twelve.

In the course of the year 1782, John Mathews, Esquire, Governor of South Carolina, concerted measures with some of the citizens in Charlestown, who wished to make their peace with their countrymen, for sending out of the British lines necessary clothing for the almost naked continentals. When their distresses had nearly arrived to that point beyond which human nature can bear no more, Mr. Joshua Lockwood, under the direction of Governor Mathews, brought out of Charlestown a large quantity of the articles which were most needed in the American camp. This seasonable supply, though much short of their due, quieted the minds of the suffering soldiers. Tranquility and good order were restored in the camp, and duty was cheerfully performed. It is impossible to do justice to that invincible fortitude which was displayed by both officers and men in the campaigns of 1780 and 1781. They encountered fatigues which, if particularly related, would appear almost incredible. They had scenes of suffering to bear up under, of which citizens in the peaceable walks of private life can form no adequate idea. Without pay, almost without clothing, and often with but a scanty portion of the plainest provisions, they were exposed to the scorching heat of the day, and the baleful vapors of the night. When sinking under the fatigues of repeated successions of forced marches, they were destitute of every comfort suitable to their situation. But to all these accumulated hardships the greatest part of them submitted with patience and magnanimity, which reflected honor on human nature, and which was never exceeded by any army in the world.

SECTION XII.

Revolutionary Miscellaneous History.

The reduction of Charlestown in May 1780, was followed by the establishment of a military government. A Commandant was appointed to superintend the affairs of the province. His powers were as undefined as those of the American committees which took place in the early stages of the dispute between Great Britain and America, while the royal governments were suspended and before the popular establishments were reduced to system. To soften the rigid and forbidding aspect of this new mode of administration, and as far as possible to temper it with the resemblance of civil authority, a board of police for the summary determination of disputes was instituted. Under the direction of James Simpson, intendant of the board, a table was drawn up, ascertaining the depreciation of the paper currency at different periods; from which the friends of royal government, who had sustained losses by paper payments, were induced to hope for reimburse-

ment. This measure, though just in itself, was productive of unexpected and serious consequences fatal to the reviving fondness for the royal interest. Among the new-made British subjects, many were found who had been great gainers by the depreciation of the American bills of credit. These, by the proposition of a second payment of their old debts, were filled with astonishment. From the circumstances of the country a compliance with it was, to the most opulent, extremely inconvenient; and to multitudes absolutely impracticable. The paper currency, before the reduction of Charlestown, had supplanted the use of gold and silver and banished them from circulation. The ravages of war had desolated the country, and deprived the inhabitants of the means of payment. Creditors became clamorous for their long arrears of interest, and debtors had either lost their property or could not exchange it for one-half of its value. Many suits were commenced, and great numbers ruined. The distresses of the reclaimed subjects, within the British lines, were in many instances greater than those of their unsubdued countrymen who had forsaken all in the cause of liberty. After the Americans had recovered possession of a considerable part of the State, it was presumed that the proceedings of the board of police would be reversed. This redoubled their difficulties. Creditors became more pressing, and at the same time the doubtfulness of British titles induced a depreciation of real property not far behind that of the American paper currency. Fear and interest had brought many of their new subjects to the British standard; but, in consequence of the plans they adopted, in a little time both these powerful motives of human actions drew in an opposite direction. The Americans pursued a different line of conduct. In every period of the contest they sacrificed the few creditors to the many debtors. The true whigs who suffered on this score, consoled themselves with the idea that their country's good required it, and that this was the price of their independence. A disposition to suffer in behalf of the royal interest was not so visible among the professed adherents to British government. That immediate justice might be done to a few, great distress was brought on many and the cause of his Britannic majesty injured beyond reparation.

Several Commandants were successively appointed to superintend the affairs of the town. Among these Lieutenant-Colonel Nisbit Balfour had the greatest share of administration. This gentleman displayed in the exercise of this new office all the frivolous self-importance, and all the disgusting insolence, which are natural to little minds when puffed up by sudden elevation. By the subversion of every trace of the popular government, without any proper civil establish-

ment in its place, he, with a few coadjutors, assumed and exercised legislative, judicial, and executive powers over citizens in the same manner as over the common soldiery under their command. A series of proclamations was issued by his authority, which militated as well against the principles of the British constitution, as those of justice, equity, and humanity. For slight offences, and on partial and insufficient information, citizens were confined by his orders; and that often without any trial.

The place allotted for securing them, being the middle part of the cellar, under the Exchange, was called the Provost. The dampness of this unwholesome spot, together with the want of a fire-place, caused among the unhappy sufferers some deaths and much sickness. In it the American State-prisoner, and the British felon shared the same fate. The former, though for the most part charged with nothing more than an active execution of the laws of the State, or having spoken words disrespectful or injurious to the British officers or government, or of corresponding with the Americans, suffered indignities and distresses in common with those who were accused of crimes tending to subvert the peace and existence of society.

It has already been observed, that on the arrival of the British in South Carolina, the inhabitants were encouraged to stay on their plantations with the prospect of neutrality; and that, in a little time, these delusive hopes vanished. Instead of drawing off the people gradually from an attachment to their late constitution, the conquerors were so far mistaken as to suppose that men could instantly be transformed from obstinate revolters to zealous royalists. In a short time after their submission they were called upon to promise that, by force of arms, they would oppose men who were their friends and neighbors, and by whose sides they had lately fought. In effecting a revolution from the regal to the republican government, a very different policy was pursued. The popular leaders proceeded gradually. The common people were not shocked by any propositions too repugnant to their ancient prejudices, or too remote from established opinions. Though the leading men in the councils of America were far from being adepts in the maxims of refined policy yet they were led, by a providential concurrence of circumstances, to carry on their operations in a manner which contributed more to their success than if every step they took had been prescribed by the most consummate art. When they first began to oppose the claims of Great Britain, they were far from intending that separation which they afterwards effected; and would have trembled with horror at the thoughts of that which at last

they gloried in accomplishing. Strange and undesigned consequences followed in the gradual succession of causes and effects. In confuting the extravagant opinion of taxation without representation, the Americans were insensibly led to inquire into the nature of civil liberty, and of their connection with Great Britain. From a denial of the British right of taxation, the way was opened for an investigation of the restrictions on their commerce and of the disadvantages of their subordinate station. A direct renunciation of the mother country, in the first instance, would have drawn on the Americans the whole weight of her vengeance, and would probably have disunited the colonists; but, as this was far from the thoughts of the popular leaders, they continued to profess, and with sincerity, great respect for their King and his government, till step by step they came to erect the standard of independence. The sentiments of a great majority of the people coincided with the resolutions of their leaders. Nothing was recommended but what was in unison with the prevailing opinions. A prudent respect was paid to ancient prejudices, and nothing new was imposed till the public mind was gradually reconciled to its favorable reception. The first popular assemblies conducted their opposition on legal grounds, and in a manner compatible with their allegiance. It was the acknowledged right of the subjects to meet together, and petition for a redress of their grievances. Their committees and congresses, their resolutions of non-importation and non-exportation contained nothing unconstitutional. The association which was the first band of popular union in South Carolina, was sanctioned by no other penalty but that of withholding all intercourse with those who should refuse to concur with the same measures.

The distinction of whig and tory took its rise in the year 1775. Both parties in the interior country were then embodied, and were obliged to impress provisions for their respective support. The advocates for Congress prevailing, they paid for articles consumed in their camps; but as no funds were provided for discharging the expenses incurred by the royalists, all that was consumed by them was considered as a robbery. This laid the foundation of a piratical war between whigs and tories, which was productive of great distress and deluged the country with blood. In the interval between the insurrection of 1775, and the year 1780, the whigs were occasionally plundered by parties who had attempted insurrections in favor of royal government. But all that was done prior to the surrender of Charlestown was trifling when compared to what followed. After that event, political hatred raged with uncommon fury, and the calamities of civil war desolated the

State. The ties of nature were in several instances dissolved and that reciprocal good will, and confidence, which hold mankind together in society, was in a great degree extinguished. Countrymen, neighbors, friends, and brothers took different sides and ranged themselves under the opposing standards of the contending factions. In every little precinct, more especially in the interior parts of the State, King's-men and Congress-men were names of dictinction. The passions on both sides were kept in perpetual agitation, and wrought up to a degree of fury, which rendered individuals regardless not only of the laws of war but of the principles of humanity. While the British had the ascendency, their partizans gave full scope to their interetsed and malicious passions. People of the worst characters emerged from their hiding places in swamps, called themselves King's-men and began to appropriate to their own use whatsoever came in their way. Every act of cruelty and injustice was sanctified, provided the actor called himself a friend to the King and the sufferer was denominated a rebel. Of those who were well-disposed to the claims of America, there were few to be found who had not their houses and plantations repeatedly rifled. Under the sanction of subduing rebellion, private revenge was gratified. Many houses were burned, and many people inhumanly murdered. Numbers for a long time were obliged either entirely to abandon their homes, or to sleep in the woods and swamps. Rapine, outrage, and murder became so common as to interrupt the free intercourse between one place and another. That security and protection which individuals expect by entering into civil society, ceased almost totally. Matters remained in this situation for the greatest part of a year after the surrender of Charlestown. When General Greene returned to South Carolina, in the spring of 1781, everything was reversed. In a few weeks he dispossessed the British of all their posts in the upper country, and the exasperated whigs once more had the superiority. On their return to their homes, they generally found starving families and desolate plantations. To reimburse their losses, and to gratify revenge, they, in their turn, began to plunder and to murder. The country was laid waste, and private dwellings frequently stained with the blood of husbands and fathers inhumanly shed in the presence of their wives and children. About this time Governor Rutledge returned to South Carolina, and exerted his great abilities in re-establishing order and security. To this end he issued a proclamation, strictly forbidding all violence and rapine. Magistrates were appointed in every part of the State recovered from the British. Civil government was restored. Property was secured. Confusion and anarchy gave place to order and

regular government. The people were happy, and rejoiced in the revolution.

In the close of the year 1781, when the successes of the American army had confined the late conquerors to the vicinity of Charlestown, a desperate band of tories adopted the infernal scheme of taking their last revenge by carrying fire and sword into the settlements of the whig militia. To this end Major William Cunningham, of the British militia, collected a party, and having furnished them with everything necessary for laying waste the country, sallied from Charlestown. He and his associates concealed themselves till they arrived in the back settlements far in the rear of the American army, and there began to plunder, burn and murder. In the unsuspecting hour of sleep and domestic security, they entered the houses of the solitary farmers and sacrificed to their revenge the obnoxious head of the family. Their cruelties induced some small parties to associate and arm in self-defence. Captain Turner and twenty men had, on these principles, taken post in a house and defended themselves till their ammunition was nearly expended. After which they surrendered on receiving assurances that they should be treated as prisoners of war. Notwithstanding this solemn agreement, Captain Turner and his party were put to instant death by Cunningham and the men under his command. Soon after this massacre the same party of tories attacked a number of the American militia in the district of Ninety-Six, commanded by Colonel Hayes, and set fire to the house in which they had taken shelter. The only alternative left was either to be burned or to surrender themselves prisoners. The last being preferred, Colonel Hayes and Captain Daniel Williams were hung at once on the pole of a fodder stack. This breaking, they both fell, on which Major William Cunningham cut them into pieces with his own sword; when turning upon the others he continued on them the operations of his savage barbarity, till the powers of nature being exhausted, and his enfeebled limbs refusing to administer any longer to his insatiate fury, he called upon his comrades to complete the dreadful work by killing whichsoever of the prisoners they pleased. They instantly put to death such of them as they personally disliked. Only two fell in action, but fourteen were deliberately cut to pieces after their surrender. Their names and rank were as follows: Colonel Joseph Hayes, Captain Daniel Williams, Lieutenant Christopher Hardy, Lieutenant John Neel, Clement Hancock, Joseph Williams, Joseph Irby, senior, Joseph Irby, junior, John Milven, James Feris, John Cook, Greaf Irby, Benjamin Goodman, Yancy Saxon.

About the same time, and under the same influence, emissaries from the British induced the Cherokee Indians to commence hostilities. Early in the year 1781 General Greene had concluded a treaty with them, by which they had engaged to observe a neutrality. This was attended with the beneficial effects of saving the frontier settlements, both of North and South Carolina, from their incursions, while the inhabitants were left at full liberty to concentrate their force against the army under the command of Lord Cornwallis. When the co-operation of the Indians could be of the least service to the British forces, they were induced to break through their engagements of neutrality. They, with a number of disguised white men who called themselves the King's friends, made an incursion into the district of Ninety-Six, massacred some families and burned several houses. General Pickens collected a party of the American militia and penetrated into the settlements of the Cherokees. This he accomplished in fourteen days, at the head of three hundred and ninety-four horsemen. In that short space he burned thirteen towns and villages, killed upwards of forty Indians, and took a greater number prisoners. Not one of his party was killed, and only two were wounded. None of the expeditions carried on against the Cherokees had been so rapid and decisive as the present one. General Pickens did not expend three pounds of ammunition, and yet only three Indians escaped after having been once seen. On this occasion a new and successful mode of fighting the savages was introduced. Instead of firing, the American militia rushed forward on horseback and charged with drawn swords. This was the second time during the American war that the Cherokee Indians had been chastised in their own settlements, in consequence of suffering themselves to be excited by British emissaries to commence hostilities against their white neighbors. They again sued for peace in the most submissive terms, and obtained it after promising that instead of listening to the advice of the royalists instigating them to war, they would deliver those of them that visited their settlements on that errand to the authority of the State.

In consequence of these civil wars between the whigs and tories, the incursions of the savages, and the other calamities resulting from the operations of the British and American armies, South Carolina exhibited scenes of distress which were shocking to humanity. The single district of Ninety-Six has been computed by well informed persons residing therein, to contain within its limits fourteen hundred widows and orphans; made so by the war. Nor is it wonderful that the country was involved in such accumulated distress. The

American government was suspended, and the British conquerors were careless of the civil rights of the inhabitants. They conducted as though interior order and police were scarcely objects of attention. The will of the strongest was the law. Such was the general complexion of those who called themselves royalists, that nothing could be expected from them but outrages against the peace and order of society. Though among the tories in the lower parts of South Carolina there were gentlemen of honor, principle and humanity, yet in the interior and back parts of the State a great proportion of them was an ignorant unprincipled banditti; to whom idleness, licentiousness and deeds of violence were familiar. Horse-thieves and others whose crimes had exiled them from society, attached themselves to parties of the British. Encouraged by their example and instigated by the love of plunder, they committed the most extensive depredations. Under the cloak of attachment to the old government, they covered the basest and most selfish purposes. The necessity which their indiscriminate plundering imposed on all good men of defending themselves, did infinitely more damage to the royal cause than was compensated by all the advantages resulting from their friendship.

As soon as the American army obtained re-possession of the country, the inhabitants, after returning to their former allegiance, resolutely put all to the risk in support of independence. Though the British, in the career of their conquests, had inculcated the necessity and propriety of transferring allegiance from the vanquished to the victor, yet they treated with the utmost severity those unfortunate men, when in their power, who having once accepted of British protection acted on these very principles in afterwards re-joining their victorious countrymen.

Among the sufferers on this score, the illustrious Colonel Hayne stands conspicuous. During the siege of Charlestown, that gentleman served his country in a corps of militia-horse. After the capitulation, there being no American army in the State and the prospect of one being both distant and uncertain, no alternative was left but either to abandon his family and property or to surrender to the conquerors. This hard dilemma, together with well-founded information that others in similar circumstances had been paroled to their plantations, weighed with Colonel Hayne so far as to induce a conclusion that instead of waiting to be captured it would be both more safe and more honorable to come within the British lines and surrender himself a voluntary prisoner. He therefore repaired to Charlestown and offered to bind himself, by the honor of an American officer, to do nothing prejudicial to the British interest till he should be exchanged. Reports

which were made of his superior abilities and influence, uniformly exerted in the American cause, operated with the conquerors to refuse him a parole, though they were in the habit of daily granting that indulgence to others of the inhabitants. To his great astonishment he was told, "that he must either become a British subject or submit to close confinement." To be arrested and detained in the capital, was to himself not an intolerable evil; but to abandon his family both to the ravages of the small-pox, a disease then raging in their neighborhood, and which in a short time after proved mortal to his wife and two of his children, and to the insults and depredations of the royal army, was too much for a tender husband and a fond parent. To acknowledge himself the subject of a King, whose government he had from principle renounced, was repugnant to his feelings; but without this he was cut off from every prospect of a return to his family. In this embarrassing situation he waited on the author of this history, with a declaration to the following effect: "If the British would grant me the indulgence, which we in the day of our power gave to their adherents, of removing my family and property, I would seek an asylum in the remotest corner of the United States rather than submit to their government; but as they allow no other alternative than submission or confinement in the capital, at a distance from my wife and family, at a time when they are in the most pressing need of my presence and support, I must for the present yield to the demands of the conquerors. I request you to bear in mind that previous to my taking this step, I declare that it is contrary to my inclination and forced on me by hard necessity. I never will bear arms against my country. My new masters can require no service of me but what is enjoined by the old militia-law of the province, which substitutes a fine in lieu of personal service. That I will pay as the price of my protection. If my conduct should be censured by my countrymen, I beg that you would remember this conversation and bear witness for me, that I do not mean to desert the cause of America."

In this state of duress Colonel Hayne subscribed a declaration of his allegiance to the King of Great Britain, but not without expressly objecting to the clause which required him, "with his arms to support the royal government." The commandant of the garrison, Brigadier-General Paterson, and James Simpson, Esquire, Intendant of the British police, assured him that this would never be required; and added further, "that when the regular forces could not defend the country, without the aid of its inhabitants, it would be high time for the royal army to quit it."

Having submitted to their government, he readily obtained

permission to return to his family. In violation of the special condition under which he subscribed the declaration of his allegiance, he was repeatedly called on to take arms against his countrymen, and was finally threatened with close confinement in case of a further refusal. This open breach of contract, together with the inability of the late conquerors to give him that protection which was promised as a compensation for his allegiance, the Americans having regained that part of the State in which he resided, induced him to consider himself as released from all engagements to the British commanders. The inhabitants of his neighborhood, who had also revolted, subscribed a petition to General Pickens, praying that Colonel Hayne might be appointed to the command of their regiment. Having thus resumed his arms, and the tide of conquest being fairly turned in the short space of thirteen months after the surrender of Charlestown, he sent out, in the month of July, 1781, a small party to reconnoitre. They penetrated within seven miles of the capital, took General Williamson prisoner, and retreated to the head-quarters of the regiment. Such was the anxiety of the British commandant to rescue General Williamson, that he ordered out his whole cavalry on that business. Colonel Hayne unfortunately fell into their hands. Though he had conducted himself peaceably while under the British government, and had injured no man, yet for having resumed his arms after accepting British protection, he was, when brought to Charlestown, confined in a loathsome provost. At first he was promised a trial, and had counsel prepared to justify his conduct by the laws of nations and usages of war; but this was finally refused. Had he been considered as a British subject, he had an undoubted right to a trial; if as an American officer, to his parole; but in violation of every principle of the constitution, he was ordered for execution by the arbitrary mandate of Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour.

The royal Lieutenant-Governor Bull, and a great number of the inhabitants, both loyalists and Americans, interceded for his life. The ladies of Charlestown generally signed a petition in his behalf, in which was introduced every delicate sentiment that was likely to operate on the gallantry of officers or the humanity of men. His children, accompanied by some near relations, were presented on their bended knees, as humble suitors for their father's life. Such powerful intercessions were made in his favor as touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many an hard eye; but Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour remained inflexible.

After his fate was fixed, he was repeatedly visited by his friends, and conversed on various subjects with the fortitude

of a man, a philosopher, and a Christian. He particularly lamented that, on principles of reciprocal retaliation, his execution would probably be an introduction to the shedding of much innocent blood. His children, who had lost their other parent, were brought to him in the place of his confinement, and received from his lips the dying advice of an affectionate father. On the last evening of his life he told a friend, "that he was no more alarmed at the thoughts of death, than at any other occurrence which was necessary and unavoidable." He requested those in whom the supreme power was vested, to accommodate the mode of his death to his feelings as an officer; but this was refused.

On the morning of the fatal day, on receiving his summons to proceed to the place of execution, he delivered some papers to his eldest son, a youth of about thirteen years of age: "Present," said he, "these papers to Mrs. Edwards, with my request that she would forward them to her brother in Congress. You will next repair to the place of execution, receive my body, and see it decently interred among my forefathers." They took a final leave. The Colonel's arms were pinioned, and a guard placed round his person. The procession began from the Exchange, in the forenoon of the fourth of August, 1781. The streets were crowded with thousands of anxious spectators. He walked to the place of execution with such decent firmness, composure and dignity, as to awaken the compassion of many, and to command respect from all. There was a majesty in his sufferings which rendered him superior to the pangs of death. When the city barrier was past, and the instrument of his catastrophe appeared full in view, a faithful friend by his side observed to him, "that he hoped he would exhibit an example of the manner in which an American can die." He answered with the utmost tranquility, "I will endeavor to do so." He ascended the cart with a firm step and serene aspect. He inquired of the executioner, who was making an attempt to get up to pull the cap over his eyes, what he wanted? Upon being informed of his design, the colonel replied, "I will save you that trouble," and pulled it over himself. He was afterwards asked whether he wished to say anything; to which he answered, "I will only take leave of my friends, and be ready." He then affectionately shook hands with three gentlemen, recommended his children to their care, and gave the signal for the cart to move.

Thus fell, in the bloom of life, a brave officer, a worthy citizen, a just and upright man: furnishing an example of heroism in death that extorted a confession from his enemies, "that, though he did not die in a good cause, he must at least have acted from a persuasiom of its being so."

Few men stood higher in the estimation of their countrymen than the illustrious man whose exit has been just described. General Greene demanded from the British Commanders their reasons for this execution. To which he received a written answer, signed by N. Balfour, acknowledging, "that it took place by the joint order of Lord Rawdon and himself, but in consequence of the most express directions from Lord Cornwallis to put to death those who should be found in arms after being at their own requests received as subjects, since the capitulation of Charlestown, and the clear conquest of the province in the summer of 1780."

The regular officers of the continental army presented a petition to General Greene, requesting that he would retaliate for the execution of Colonel Hayne. By this they voluntarily subjected themselves to all the consequences to which, in case of capture, they would be exposed. General Greene soon after issued a proclamation, threatening to make British officers the objects of retaliation. This encouraged the revolted inhabitants to continue in arms, and effaced every impression that was expected from the fate of Colonel Hayne. The British interest gained no permanent advantage, while pity and revenge sharpened the swords of the countrymen and friends of the much beloved sufferer.

After the British landed in Carolina in 1780, they confined some of their first prisoners in the vaults with the dead. When their successes had multiplied the number of prisoners, they were crowded on board prison-ships, where they suffered every inconvenience that could result from putrid air and the want of the comforts of life. This was done not only to those who surrendered at discretion, but also to the private soldiers who were entitled to the benefit of the capitulation of Charlestown.

The condition of these unfortunate men was truly deplorable. They were crowded on board the prison-ships in such numbers that several were obliged to stand up for want of room to lie down. The State of South Carolina could afford them no supply. Congress could not at that time command hard money for their relief. Wine, and such like comforts, particularly necessary for the sick in southern climates, could not be obtained from the British hospitals.

Upwards of eight hundred of these brave men, nearly one-third of the whole, exhausted by a variety of sufferings, expired in the short space of thirteen months' captivity. When a general exchange took place in June, 1781, out of nineteen hundred taken at the surrender of Charlestown on the 12th of May, 1780, and several hundreds more taken afterwards at Camden and at Fishing creek on the 16th and 18th of August of the same year, there were only seven hundred and

forty restored to the service of their country. It was not by deaths alone that the Americans were deprived of their soldiers. Lord Charles Greville Montague, who before the revolution had been Governor of the province of South Carolina, enlisted five hundred and thirty of them in the British service. The distressed continental soldiers were induced to accept the offers of Lord Charles Greville Montague in preference to the horrors of a prison-ship, by the specious promise that they should be employed in the West Indies, and not against their countrymen in the United States. His lordship, after completing his regiment, offered the command of it to Brigadier-General Moultrie, the senior officer of the prisoners-of-war belonging to the continental army, who with becoming spirit declined it.

The continental officers taken at the surrender of Charlestown were confined to Haddrell's Point and the vicinity. Far from their friends, and destitute of money, they were reduced to the greatest straits. Such were the difficulties and severe restrictions imposed on this band of patriots that many of them, though born in affluence and habituated to attendance, were compelled to do not only the most menial offices for themselves but could scarcely procure the plainest necessaries of life. During a captivity of thirteen months, they received no more from their country than nine days' pay. These hardships were not alleviated by those civilities from their conquerors which among modern refined nations have abated the horrors of war. They were debarred the liberty of fishing for their support, though their great leisure and many wants made it an object not only as an amusement but as a mean of supplying their necessities. After bearing all these evils with great fortitude they were informed, in the month of March 1781, by Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour, that by positive orders from Earl Cornwallis, he was to send them to some one of the West India Islands. Preparations were made for the execution of the mandate; but a general exchange of prisoners, in the southern department, took place in a few weeks which released the prisoners on both sides from captivity.

The citizens of the town, who adhered to their paroles, were treated with great severity. Though they were not allowed rations, yet they were debarred from trade, and from exercising any profession; and the King's subjects were strictly enjoined not to employ them on any pretence.

Though by the capitulation of Charlestown, in May 1780, the inhabitants were entitled to their paroles and a residence on their estates with their families; yet in May, 1781, upwards of one hundred of them were confined to prison-ships. The conquerors did not undertake to justify this step from any

supposed breach of parole. They affected to hold the prisoners in this state of duress as hostages to secure good treatment for those of the loyalists who had been captured by the Americans. The gentlemen who were confined on this occasion submitted to their fate with great magnanimity. Instead of repining at their situation, they only regretted, "if it should fall to the lot of any or all of them to be made victims, agreeably to the menaces of Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour, that their blood could not be disposed of more to the advantage of the glorious cause in which they had engaged."

As the war was carried on not to gain a contested point from an independent power, but to annihilate the assumed independence of the State and to reduce it to its former provincial subjection; the conquerors ridiculed the idea of observing the capitulation with citizens. They considered that measure as the expedient of a day, only proper at the surrender to prevent the effusion of blood, but no longer so when their arms were triumphant in the remote extremities of the State. Indulgences shown to prisoners were viewed as favors derived from the humanity of conquerors, and not as rights founded on a capitulation. Persons who remained in the character of prisoners, and claimed under that solemn agreement, were considered as obstinate rebels who meant to thwart the views of the royal army. While they wished to be regarded as members of an independent State, they were looked upon as vanquished rebels who owed their lives to British clemency. In this confusion of sentiments, to reconcile contradictory claims required uncommon address. The pride of conquerors, highly estimating their own moderation; and the pride of prisoners, considering themselves as independent freemen entitled to respect for their firmness and patriotism, made the former trample on the latter and the latter despise the former.

It has been already mentioned that in May, 1781, a general exchange of prisoners was agreed to, in which the militia on both sides were respectively exchanged for each other. Notwithstanding every difficulty, a considerable number of the inhabitants had perseveringly refused to become British subjects. These being exchanged, were delivered at the American posts in Virginia and Pennsylvania. Great were the exultations of the suffering friends of independence, at the prospect of their being released from confinement and restored to activity in their country's cause; but these pleasing prospects were obscured by the distresses brought on their families by this otherwise desirable event, for they were all ordered to quit the town and province before the first day of next August.

The gentlemen, who had been from motives of policy re-

moved from Charlestown to St. Augustine, as has been already related, obtained their release by this general exchange and were delivered at the port of Philadelphia. More than a thousand persons were exiled from their homes, and thrown on the charity of strangers for their support. In retaliation for this conduct, Governor Rutledge ordered the Brigadiers of militia to drive within the British lines the families of those who adhered to the royal cause. The wives and children of those inhabitants who, to avoid the resentment of their countrymen had retreated with the retreating British, were compelled to take shelter within their posts. In exchange for their comfortable farms in the country, many of them were reduced in a little time to the necessity of living in clay huts in the vicinity of Charlestown. In this forlorn situation numbers of them, destitute of the comforts of life, and overwhelmed with diseases, speedily perished. The exiled Americans received generous treatment from some individuals, and also from the bounty of Congress; but notwithstanding this liberality, they suffered many of the evils which result from a want of friends and a want of money. Several of the persons thus exchanged, and sent to the northern States, were owners of landed property in Charlestown. Though by the capitulation they had an undoubted right to dispose of this for their own advantage, yet they were debarred that liberty by an order issued on the 11th of July, 1781.

In consequence of this mandate, the houses of those who adhered to the cause of America were, in violation of public faith, taken out of their hands, and there was scarce an instance of compensation being allowed them for this seizure of their property.

The partial re-establishment of British government in South Carolina was the source of accumulated evils to the steady friends of independence; but they were not the only sufferers. The calamities of the years 1780 and 1781, operated extensively. There was scarcely an inhabitant of the State, however obscure in character or remote in situation, whether he remained firm to one party or changed with the times, who did not partake of the general distress. The adherents to royal government were often treated by the British conquerors with neglect and contempt—frequently suffered in their property, and had many grievances unredressed. Their most essential interests were in every stage of the war, and especially at the evacuation of Charlestown, and the general treaty of peace, sacrificed to political necessity. They had the peculiar misfortune of suffering from the repeated violation of public faith successively pledged for their security.

The successes that had attended the American arms in

South Carolina, in the summer of 1781, gave such flattering prospects to the friends of independence, that it was judged to be a favorable opportunity to detach from the British interest in South Carolina those of the inhabitants of the State who had joined them in the day of their success. On the 27th of September, 1781, Governor Rutledge, therefore, issued a proclamation, offering them pardon on condition of their doing six months militia duty, with the exception of those who had taken commissions—signed congratulatory addresses on British victories—or who had been otherwise active in support of their government. In a few weeks several hundreds came out of the British lines, and reinforced the American militia. Several were now as assiduous in framing excuses for their having arranged themselves under the British standard, as they had been the year before to apologize for their involuntary support of rebellion. "Their wives, their children, and their property, made it necessary to make a show of submission to the conquerors—They thought the country was subdued, and that further resistance was vain—but notwithstanding, at all times they wished well to American independence." Such was the alacrity with which they joined their countrymen, that several, though excepted by the proclamation, cast themselves on the public mercy. They explained their taking British commissions into a benevolent design, of rescuing their neighbors from more severe officers. For their signing addresses of congratulation on British victories, many apologies were offered. Some alleged in their behalf "the fear of losing their estates—of being refused protection, or of being objects of suspicion." Others had never read them; but they all agreed, "that the sentiments contained in these ill-fated addresses were at no time the language of their hearts."

The tranquility that reigned through every part of the State gave an opportunity of calling an assembly, the meetings of which had been interrupted ever since the reduction of Charlestown. Many of the inhabitants who had never submitted to the British, and who had been lately delivered as exchanged in Virginia and Philadelphia, soon found their way back to South Carolina. In their number were most of the late civil officers of the State, and members of the Legislature. These favorable circumstances, in conjunction with the position of the American army, within thirty-six miles of Charlestown, pointed out the propriety of convening a Legislature. In the close of the year 1781, Governor Rutledge, by virtue of the extraordinary power delegated to him before the surrender of Charlestown, issued writs for a new election. These were ordered to be held in the usual places where it was practicable, and in other cases as near as safety and other circumstances

would permit. By the same authority it was ordered, that at the election the votes of such only should be received as had never taken British protection, or who, having taken it, had notwithstanding rejoined their countrymen on or before the 27th of September, 1781. Other persons, though residents, were not considered as freemen of the State, or entitled to the full privilege of citizenship. A General Assembly was chosen, and convened in January, 1782, at Jacksonborough, a small village situated on Edisto river, about twenty-five miles from the sea, and thirty-five from Charlestown.

By the rotation established, it became necessary to choose a new Governor. The suffrages of a majority were in the first instance in favor of Christopher Gadsden, who declined the office.

The General Assembly then elected John Mathews Governor, filled up vacancies in the different departments, and re-established civil government in all its branches. They also delegated to the Governor or Commander-in-Chief the same extensive powers, with similar limitation, which had been entrusted to his predecessor, "of doing all matters and things which were judged expedient and necessary to secure the liberty, safety, and happiness of the State." Hitherto the Legislature of the State had given every man the free liberty of choosing his side and retaining his property; but the conduct of the British, while they had the ascendancy in the State, was so contrary to this humane mode of carrying on war, that on this occasion an opposite line of policy was adopted.

Laws were passed for confiscating the estates, and banishing the persons of the active decided friends of British government, and for amercing the estates of others, as a substitution for their personal services of which, the country had been deprived. Two hundred and thirty-seven persons or estates were included in the first class, and forty-eight in the last. Those whose submission appeared to be necessary and unavoidable, and who did not voluntarily aid or abet the government of the conquerers, were generally overlooked. These laws, though contrary to the constitution and every principle of republican government, passed by large majorities. The subjects of them were condemned without a hearing or even the form of a trial. Some of the members who voted for them were influenced by a spirit of revenge, and others by avarice; but these were far short of a majority. That was obtained by the accession of numbers of upright and honorable principles, who believed that constitution and laws in cases of extremity must both yield to self-preservation. Such considered the confiscation of tory property in the nature of a forced loan for purposes of indispensable necessity. It is certain that without it the

State had no resources for raising or supporting a military force for self-defence. These laws were passed in February, 1782, while the Assembly was under an impression that the war would be continued by Great Britain. To meet it was impossible without making free with the property of British adherents contrary to the usual forms of law. The obstinacy of the British in continuing a hopeless war, aggravated the distresses of their friends. Soon after these laws were passed, reports were circulated that the British intended soon to withdraw from Charlestown.

The apprehension of this gave a serious alarm to those of the inhabitants who adhered to their interest. There was no part of South Carolina without the British lines which was not formally in the peace of the State, excepting a settlement on Little Peedee. Major Ganey, at the head of some loyalists residing near that river, had refused to do militia duty under General Marion, the Brigadier of the district. They defended themselves in the swamps, and from thence frequently sallied to the distress of the whig inhabitants of the adjacent country. On the 28th of April, 1781, a party of them commanded by Captain Jones, surrounded and set fire to the house of Col. Kolb, a respectable American militia officer. He, after receiving assurances of being treated as a prisoner of war, surrendered. Nevertheless he was put to instant death in the presence of his wife and children. When the British had lost ground in 1781, General Marion made a treaty of neutrality with them. In the summer of 1782 this was formerly renewed. Though the British interest was entirely ruined, and their departure from Charlestown soon expected, such was the generosity of the government, that it gave them a full pardon for all treasons committed against the State, the security of their property, and the protection of the laws, on the condition of their delivering up their plunder, abjuring the King of Great Britain, and demeaning themselves as peaceable citizens of the State. An alternative was offered to those who disapproved of these articles, to go within the British lines, and to carry off or sell their property. These lenient measures brought over the disaffected people of the settlement. Several of them not long after fought bravely under General Marion, and the whole conducted themselves peaceably. Regularity, order and government took the place of reciprocal depredations and hostilities.

On the proposed evacuation of Charlestown, the merchants who came with the British were in a disagreeable predicament. They had entered into extensive commercial engagements in the short interval of the British sway. Those of their debtors who were without the lines, were not subject to

their jurisdiction; those who were within were unable to pay. It was supposed that all transfers of property, by the authority of the board of police, would be null and void on the departure of the British from the State. Environed with difficulties, and threatened with bankruptcy, if they should leave the State along with the garrison, they applied to General Leslie for leave to negotiate for themselves. A deputation of their body waited on Governor Mathews, and obtained from him permission to reside in South Carolina for eighteen months after the evacuation, with the full liberty of disposing of their stock of goods on hand, and of collecting the debts already due to them. This indulgence was extended to a longer term by the Legislature at their next meeting, before any information arrived that the preliminary articles of peace were signed.

When the evacuation of Charlestown drew nigh, it was apprehended by the inhabitants, that the British army, on its departure, would carry off with them some thousands of negroes which were within their lines. To prevent this, Governor Mathews wrote a letter to General Leslie, dated August 17th, 1782, in which he informed him, "that if the property of the citizens of South Carolina was carried off from its owners by the British army, he should seize on the debts due to the British merchants—and to the confiscated estates—and the claims on those estates by marriage settlements—which three articles were not included in the confiscation act." This conditional resolution operated as a check on some, so as to restrain their avidity for plunder, and induced General Leslie to propose a negotiation for securing the property of both parties. After sundry conversations, the commissioners on both sides, on the 10th of October, 1782, ratified a compact on this subject, by which it was agreed with a few exceptions, that all the slaves of the citizens of South Carolina then in the power of the British General Leslie, should be restored to their former owners, and that the faith of the State should be pledged that no further confiscation or sequestration of property belonging or pledged to royalists should take place; that all such should be at full liberty to sue for, recover and dispose of their property in the same manner as citizens—that the slaves so returned should not be punished by the State; and that it should be recommended to their masters to forgive them—that Edward Blake and Roger Parker Saunders should be permitted, on their parole of honor, to reside in Charlestown to assist in the execution of the article respecting the delivery of negroes to the citizens.

In consequence of this agreement, Governor Mathews gave a commission and a flag to Thomas Ferguson and Thomas

Waring, to reside near the British lines, with instructions to receive such negroes as should be delivered from the garrison. Edward Blake and Roger Parker Saunders had also a commission and a flag given them to reside in Charlestown, and forward the delivery of the negroes to the gentlemen who were waiting to receive them without the garrison. Governor Mathews requested the citizens of the State to attend for the purpose of receiving their negroes, and earnestly entreated that they would forgive them for having deserted their service and joined the British. Great were the expectations of the suffering inhabitants that they would soon obtain re-possession of their property; but these delusive hopes were of short duration. Notwithstanding the solemnity with which the compact had been ratified, it was so far evaded as to be in a great measure ineffectual for the end proposed.

Edward Blake and Roger Parker Saunders, having waited on General Leslie, were permitted to examine the fleet bound to St. Augustine; but were not suffered to examine any vessel that wore the King's pendant. Instead of an examination, the word of the commanding officer to restore all the slaves that were on board, in violation of the compact, was offered as an equivalent. In their search of the Augustine fleet, they found and claimed one hundred and thirty-six negroes. When they attended to receive them on shore, they were surprised to find no more than seventy-three landed for delivery. They then claimed this small residue, of the original number, to be forwarded to the other commissioners without the lines; but they were informed by General Leslie, that no negroes would be delivered till three soldiers were restored that had been taken by a party of General Greene's army.

This was the unsuccessful termination of a benevolent scheme originally calculated for mitigating the calamities of war. Motives of humanity, together with the sacred obligation of the provisional articles of peace, restrained the State from extending its confiscation laws. Instead of adding to the list of the unhappy sufferers on that score, the successive assemblies diminished their number.

The prospects of gain from the sale of plundered negroes were too seducing to be resisted by the officers, privates, and followers of the British army. On their departure from Charlestown upwards of eight hundred slaves, who had been employed in the engineer department, were shipped off for the West Indies. It was said, and believed, that these were taken by the direction and sold for the benefit of Lieutenant-Colonel Moncrieff. The slaves carried off by the chief engineer were but a small part of the whole taken away at the evacuation, but their number is very inconsiderable when compared with

the thousands that were lost from the first to the last of the war. It has been computed by good judges, that between the years 1775 and 1783, the State of South Carolina lost twenty-five thousand negroes.

The evacuation, though officially announced by General Leslie on the 7th of August as a measure soon to be adopted, did not take place till the 14th of December, 1782. On that and the succeeding days the British went on board their shipping, and the town was entered by Governor Mathews and the American army without any confusion or disorder. Those who remained in Charlestown felt themselves happy in being delivered from the severities of a garrison life. The exiled citizens experienced sensations more easily conceived than expressed, on returning to their houses and estates. To crown their other blessings, provisional articles of peace were soon announced to have been signed at Paris, on the 13th of November, 1782, by which the King of Great Britain acknowledged "the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign and independent States; that he treated with them as such; and for himself, his heirs, and successors, relinquished all claims to the government, proprietary or territorial rights of the same." The patriot exulted in the acknowledged independence of his country. The soldier rejoiced that the toils of war were ended, and the objects of it fully obtained. The farmer redoubled his industry, from the pleasing conviction that the produce of his labor would be secured to him without any danger from British bayonets or American impress-warrants. Cheerfulness and good humor took possession of minds that, during seven years, had been continually occupied with anxiety and distress. The army was soon after disbanded. Such at that time was the situation of the finances of the United States, that Congress was scarcely able to discharge to that virtuous army, which with the price of their blood had secured their independence, as much of the arrears of many years' pay as was sufficient to defray their expenses in returning to their respective habitations. The laurels they had dearly earned, the applause of their countrymen which they had eminently obtained, and the plaudits of their consciences which they honestly possessed, were almost the only rewards they carried home at the termination of a war in which many had injured their constitutions, and all had diminished their fortunes. Sympathizing with the distresses of their countrymen—sensible of their inability to pay them their stipulated due—and confiding in their justice to make them future retri-

bution, they cheerfully relinquished the uniform of the military for the plain garb of the citizen. The private soldier exchanged his bayonet and firelock for the implements of husbandry, and betook himself to rural occupations. Subalterns, captains, field and general officers returned with pleasure to their ancient civil employments.

The citizens, instead of repining at their losses, generally set themselves to repair them by diligence and economy. The continental officers who had served in the State, and whose bravery and exertions had rendered them conspicuous, were so well received by the ladies, that several of them had their gallantry rewarded by the possession of some of the finest women and greatest fortunes in South Carolina. The unfortunate adherents to royal government were treated by those in power with moderation and lenity. The legislature permitted the greater part of the exiles to return. These were divided into three classes. Thirty-one were fully restored to their property and citizenship, thirty-three were disqualified from holding any place of trust within the State for the space of seven years, and they, with sixty-two others, were relieved from total confiscation on the condition of their paying twelve per cent. on the equitable value of their property. Though the State labored under an immense load of public debt, contracted during the war, it generously restored confiscated property in its actual possession to an amount very little short of half a million of pounds sterling.

Though the war was ended, some address was necessary to compose the minds of the people. Some of those who under every discouragement had steadily adhered to the cause of independence, took to themselves the appellation of the virtuous few, and looked down with contempt on such of their fellow-citizens as had conformed their allegiance to existing circumstances. A disposition to proscribe and banish persons of the latter description showed itself under the auspices of self-constituted committees; but the weight of government and the influence of the best informed citizens, was successfully exerted to counteract it. The hard duty of subduing private feelings and of forgetting personal injuries, and insults, for the public good, was yet to be performed. Edanus Burke, an Irish gentleman, who, with the gallantry characteristic of his nation, came from the West Indies at the commencement of the revolution as a volunteer to fight for American liberty, generously undertook to advocate the cause of those who, in the hour of danger, had by a change of allegiance sought protection from the present conqueror. In a well written pamphlet he demonstrated from history that such changes were common, and that by the laws of nature and

reason, allegiance and protection were reciprocal; and that the former ceased where the latter either was not or from circumstances could not be given. He advocated the policy of a general amnesty, and of forgetting all that had taken place in the fervor of the revolutionary war. These sentiments ably advocated by Mr. Burke, and promptly supported by the constituted authorities and the most enlightened patriots, gradually prevailed. Political distinctions ceased. By forbearance, moderation, and good sense, the appellations of congress-men and king's-men were soon forgotten, and both joined heartily in promoting the interests of their common country.

Ref

A. Granville Bastion
B. Craven D°
C. Carteret D°
D. Colleton D°
E. Ashley D°
F. Blake's D°

G. Half Moon
H. Draw Bridge
I. Johnson's
K. Draw Bridge
L. Palisades
M. L. Col. Rhetts Bridge

N. Kea L. Smi
Bridge
O. Minister's
P. English Chu
Q. French D°
R. Independen
S. Ana Baptis

nces

T. Quaker Meeting House
V. Court of Guard
W. First Rice Patch In Carolina

1. *Pasquero & Garrets House*
2. *Landsacks d°*
3. *Jn. Crofskeys d°*
4. *Cheveliers House*
5. *George Logan d°*
6. *Poinsett d°*
7. *Elicott d°*
8. *Starling d°*
9. *M. Bootle d°*
10. *Tradds House*
11. *Nat. Law d°*
12. *Landgrave Smith d°*
13. *Col. Rhetts d°*
14. *Ben Skenking d°*
15. *Sindery d°*